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THE NEW ERA BOOK
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The
American Historical Review

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION AT WASHINGTON

THE act of Congress of January 4, 1889, incorporating the American Historical Association, makes Washington the official headquarters of the organization. Seven of its first eleven meetings were held in that city. When, as the result of a gently insurgent movement in 1895, the Association began to go regularly on circuit, an informal rule was posited, in accordance with which the society should hold its annual meetings, in triennial rotation, first in some Eastern city, then in some Western city, then in the capital. In reality, however, the rule has been more often infringed than followed. After 1895, the society did not again meet in Washington till 1901. In 1905 that city had a share in a meeting held mostly in Baltimore, in 1908 in a meeting held mostly in Richmond. From 1901 until December, 1915, there was no meeting held entirely in Washington.

In a sense, however, the Association when it meets in Washington meets *zu Hause*. It is entitled to meet here without local invitation, and the local members, though glad to join in extending such an invitation, may comfort themselves with the thought of these statutory rights, and of the various attractions of the national capital, whenever they wish to excuse to themselves the less elaborate character, in comparison with what has been extended in some other cities, of the welcome they were able to put forward. They share the gratitude felt by out-of-town members for the generous hospitality accorded, in very agreeable receptions, by the Regents and Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and by the Honorable and Mrs. John W. Foster. The Department of State included the officers of the society and the chairmen of its committees among those invited to the handsome reception given at the building of the Pan-American Union in honor of the representatives of American re-

publics convened, at the same time, in the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress. The Catholic University of America, with great generosity, invited the Association to luncheon in one of its interesting buildings at Brookland; the invitation deserves to be recorded with none the less gratitude though considerations of distance and of adjustment with other elements of the programme hindered the committee of local arrangements from acceptance.

The chairman of the committee on programme was Professor Charles D. Hazen. That of the committee of local arrangements was at first Dr. Herbert Putnam, afterward Dr. S. N. D. North. The work of the latter committee was invested with unusual difficulty because of the enormous influx into Washington of other scientific societies holding meetings at the same time. Not only did the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Association for Labor Legislation, the American Society of International Law, the Naval History Society, the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland, and some other societies with which the American Historical Association is more or less accustomed to be associated on these occasions, hold annual meetings at the same time and place, but an enormous gathering of scientists, of the United States and of Latin America, attended from December 27 to January 8 the sessions of the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress. Also, the Nineteenth International Congress of Americanists was held in Washington in the closing days of December.

With several of these societies, joint sessions were held. The most notable of these was that held in conjunction with the American Economic Association on the first evening. In this, Professor Walter F. Willcox of Cornell University, president of the economists, read his presidential address, on the Apportionment of Representatives;¹ and this was followed by the learned and thoughtful address, on Nationality and History, which Professor H. Morse Stephens delivered as president of the American Historical Association, and which we had the pleasure of printing in our last issue.

An agreeable feature of another session was the reading of a letter of greeting from Lord Bryce, the sole honorary member of the American Historical Association, who when it last met in Washington had, with Lady Bryce, welcomed it with cordial hospitality at the British Embassy. He urged upon the attention of American historians the duty of making the contribution, which their unique position during the great war gave them the opportunity to make,

¹ Printed in the supplement to the *American Economic Review* for March (VI. 3 ff.).

toward writing the history of its causes and developments. He also adverted to the historical aspects of nationalism, which was to be the theme of one of the sessions, and to the partially changed light in which British Liberals, after the experiences of sixty years, were now obliged to view the principle of nationality.

By a greater extension than has been usual, the meeting occupied four days, from Tuesday, December 28, to Friday, December 31, inclusive. Headquarters were at the New Willard Hotel. The programme seemed to most members excellent and, spread over four days, was marked by a happy avoidance of congestion, though some of the good effect was undone by the excessive concourse of other societies. The registration was 430.

Among the sessions having a general character, as distinguished from those devoted to specific fields of history, one stands out as of especial practical importance, the meeting held in the interest of a National Archive Building in Washington. The movement for the erection of such a building, and for ending the discreditable conditions now existing in respect to government archives in Washington, has now been for eight years pursued by the Association. Ultimate success is certain, and in such form that, without exaggeration, we are destined to have the finest national archive building in the world. The erection of such a building has been authorized, but no appropriation has yet been made for anything beyond the preparation of preliminary plans and estimates. In the hope that appropriations for construction may be obtained this winter, an impressive demonstration of needs and possibilities was arranged for the first afternoon session, a session held in the Continental Hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and presided over by Senator Poindexter, who has been the leader in all legislative promotion of the object. It was a joint session of various interested societies. Professor Frank W. Taussig, professor of political economy in Harvard University, spoke of the Value of Archives to the Student, Dr. Gaillard Hunt, chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, of the Value of Archives to the Administration, the former giving various illustrations of the use of archival materials in scholarly researches, the latter dwelling upon the dependence of government on precedent and its consequent need of well-preserved and well-ordered archives. In the four remaining papers, which were accompanied by interesting lantern illustrations, Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh, of Iowa, set forth many examples of what American states, cities, and business corporations have done for the preservation of their records, and of the

work of the Association's Public Archives Commission and of the archive departments or commissions of states; Mr. Waldo G. Leland, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, described and showed whatever was most apposite and interesting among the archival buildings and arrangements of Europe; Mr. Leo F. Stock, of the same institution, exposed with telling photographs the shocking conditions at present prevailing in the various buildings in Washington; and Mr. Louis A. Simon, of the office of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury, exhibited and explained the architectural studies made in that office for the proposed building, especially the strikingly handsome design which is likely to be selected.

The annual conference of historical societies was presided over by Mr. Frank H. Severance, of the Buffalo Historical Society. The secretary, Mr. Augustus H. Shearer, made the usual report of such statistics as he had been able to obtain from a considerable number of societies, as to accessions and other progress during the past year. The main theme of the conference, however, was the acquisition, the care, and the use of the Papers of Business Houses, in Historical Work. Dr. Milo M. Quaife, of the Wisconsin Historical Society, in a well-considered paper, discussed some of the problems of the collection of such papers, especially in a Western state. They do not come in without solicitation. They are often surrendered with hesitation, sometimes because standards of business ethics formerly acted upon may now seem improper, sometimes because private interests of the present time give ground for reluctance, in a region where few parts of economic history lie remote from our own day. But the Wisconsin fur-trade was nearly a closed chapter when Dr. Thwaites began his great collection of materials upon it, and the Wisconsin lumber industry will soon advance into the same category. Professor Ulrich B. Phillips, of Michigan, followed with remarks upon the papers of systematically managed Southern plantations; Governor L. Bradford Prince, of the New Mexico Historical Society, with remarks on the Álvarez papers and other documents of business houses flourishing in Santa Fé just before and just after the American occupation; Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, of the New York Public Library, with suggestions as to coping with the excessive bulk of collections of business papers—for instance, encouraging their preservation by local chambers of commerce.

Another session having general objects in view was the conference of teachers of history, in which the main matter propounded for discussion was the question, whether more precise definition is

desirable either for college entrance requirements or for general courses in secondary schools. Remarks were made by Dr. James Sullivan, Miss Margaret McGill, and Professors Herbert D. Foster, Henry E. Bourne, Eugene M. Violette, and Edgar Dawson. There was general agreement in favor of a more precise definition. The Association's Committee on History Teaching, of which Professor William S. Ferguson, of Harvard, is chairman, was authorized to prepare such a definition, upon the basis of a list of essential topics to be emphasized and a list of collateral readings.

Turning now to those numerous papers that dealt with restricted fields of history, it may conduce to clearness if we take them up in the chronological order of their subjects, rather than in the partly casual order into which they were thrown by the exigencies of programme-making.

In ancient history the chosen theme was the Economic Causes of International Rivalries and Wars in Ancient Times. There were two main papers, by Professor Ferguson and by Professor George W. Botsford, of Columbia University. The tracing of ancient Greek wars to economic causes was, said the former, a procedure not unknown to Greek thought, and many facts can be adduced in support of the contention. Without ignoring these, the origins of the old Greek wars are in fact to be sought in many causes besides the mere collision of economic forces—the same varied causes which in all modern history have bred wars between the large states of Europe—and as in the one case so in the other, wars may finally be checked by higher organization and developed policy. After an acute analysis of the causes of the Peloponnesian War and of the war of 395 B.C., Professor Ferguson summed up. "To conclude: there were many different causes of war in ancient Greece. Each nation was a complex of ideas as well as of men; of hopes, fears, and memories, as well as of desires; of customs as well as of institutions; yet through them all live wires of internationalism ran, transmitting both war and peace. There were as many possibilities of wars as there were points of contact. They fought for land, they fought for trade; they fought to gratify the vanity or ambition of leaders or kings, and they fought to gratify their own pride; they fought through fear and they fought for revenge. They never fought, I think, because they liked fighting."²

With a similar unwillingness to attribute constant and predominating influence to any one cause, Professor Botsford re-

² For the full text of the paper, see the *Military Historian and Economist* for April.

viewed the origins of various Roman wars. Economic factors operated to some extent, but many other motives, motives of defense, for instance, and even individual ambition, played quite as frequent a part. Nearly all the wars of the imperial period were either directly defensive, or waged for the securing of more defensible boundaries or for bringing, in other ways, increased security to the empire.

In the discussion which followed, Professor Tenney Frank, of Bryn Mawr, laid emphasis upon the frequent difficulty of substantiating the surmise that a given war, in ancient history, was caused by economic pressure, but he developed an interesting instance of its indirect action, in the case of the Second Punic War, by showing how large a part in causing that war was played, not by any economic motives working directly on the Roman mind, but by the commercial rivalries of Carthage and Marseilles in Spain. Dr. A. E. R. Boak, of the University of Michigan, discussed mainly the evidences to be derived from Isocrates, explaining the reasons for laying especial value on his statements, and concluding that, in the wars of his period, even against Persia, economic motives could never have been foremost. Similar conclusions were sustained by Dr. R. V. D. Magoffin, of the Johns Hopkins University.

The session devoted to medieval history had as its especial subject Medieval Colonization. It was opened by a paper by Professor James Westfall Thompson, of Chicago, elaborating a theme to which he had devoted a few pages of his paper at the Boston meeting,³ that of East German Colonization. On the one hand he endeavored to explain the economic and social motives which, in settled western Germany, led small landowners and the dispossessed to retire before the extension of large proprietorship and the feudal system, and to take refuge and seek free land and carve out new fortunes in the thinly populated lands lying to the eastward. On the other hand he traced, from Charlemagne's time to the thirteenth century, the development of successive frontiers and the progressive acquisition of one Slavic area after another. In the time of Charlemagne the frontier of settlement barely reached beyond the Rhine. Under the Saxon emperors it was extended to the Aller and the Saale, to Bamberg and the mountains of Styria. During the Franconian period, Wendish revolts in Nordalbingia and Slavic resistance elsewhere prevented farther advance, but under the first Hohenstaufens the forward pressure of the Germans carried them quickly to the occupation of Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, and Pomerania. The

³ *American Historical Review*, XVIII. 494-497.

machinery for the encouragement of settlement, the system of rectangular survey, the methods of economic exploitation, were effectively described, and the analogies between the eastward movement of the Germans and the westward movement characteristic of American history were shown to be much more than superficial.

The Problems of Anglo-Saxon Settlement were treated by Professor Howard L. Gray, of Bryn Mawr, with an eye mainly to the social aspects of the early village. Using place-names as a chief source of knowledge, and taking five typical shires for comparison, he showed that villages having names in *-ing-* and *-ham* represent a first or eastern stratum of colonization, those in *-ton* a second or midland stratum, and those in *-ley* a third or western. Entering particularly into the consideration of names in *-ing-*, like Billingham or Harlington, he showed that the attribution of a patronymic meaning to that syllable had an insecure foundation, that it sometimes signified "hill" and perhaps as often meant "belonging to" as "descendants of". Evidence, from such sources, for a democratic organization of early Anglo-Saxon society, such as historians of the last generation had confidently imagined, was weak; quasi-manorial or aristocratic organization was more likely.

In a paper on the Genoese as Colonizers, Dr. Eugene H. Byrne, of Wisconsin, made it plain that their experiments in colonization must be studied in close connection with the commercial and political conditions in the commune of Genoa itself. In the twelfth century the city was governed by a small group of families who also monopolized the foreign trade, especially that with Syria; they placed various members of a single family, the Embriaci, in control of the colonies in Syria. This family acquired almost complete independence of the commune except in Acre; the branch of the family holding Acre, however, continued to reside in Genoa, employing salaried administrators for this colony. About 1190 this group of families lost their political grasp in Genoa; with it their commercial monopoly disappeared. The trade with Syria was thrown open to the people; with the establishment of a more centralized government at home, based on greater democracy, the colonies in Syria, newly re-established after the successes of the third crusade, were for the first time placed under the direct control of the commune through two *consules et vicecomites* appointed for a limited term by the city government, now under a *podestà*. The colonial experiments of the Genoese in Syria in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries enabled them to erect a great colonial power in Pera and the Black Sea region after the restoration of the Greek Empire.

Lastly, in a paper on Monastic Colonization in Spain, Dr. Constantine E. McGuire, of Washington, set forth the process by which the Spanish monastic orders had provided for the industrial occupation of lands won back from the Mohammedans in Central Spain. A very substantial body of material, it was pointed out, is to be found already in print. Spanish investigators have traditionally been interested in all the evidence obtainable bearing upon the legal position and public activities of the Church, the crown, and various classes and corporations. Innumerable instances could be cited from these printed data of the manner in which the religious orders, contemplative, military, or mendicant, resolutely went at the task of developing deserted valleys into communities capable of serving as barriers against the infidel and the desert. The process was greatly helped by the effectiveness of the right of asylum, an immunity from jurisdiction long since firmly buttressed by the sanction of ancient theological and legal traditions.

The monotony which sometimes besets congresses for paper-reading was broken up in the case of the session devoted primarily to modern European history by the happy expedient of having but one paper, by Professor James H. Robinson, of Columbia University, to which more amplitude than the usual twenty minutes was allowed, and to which the other papers or addresses of the morning should bear the relation of comment or criticism. Professor Robinson's topic was the Historical Aspects of Nationalism. The aspects considered by those who discussed his paper were not always historical but all were interesting and suggestive. He pointed out, first, that nationalism is one of those "mystical entities" or corporate emotions with which the historical student is familiar. These are spontaneously generated because of man's pronounced social instincts, and are reflections of his anxiety to be part of a larger body in whose achievements and aspirations he can share. The next question is, what is there novel in national spirit as we know it to-day? This suggested a review of social entities familiar in history—the family, tribe, city, guild, and the like—and of the corporate loyalties and responsibilities they imply. The attitude of Cicero toward patriotism, of contemporaries toward the Roman Empire, the emergence of the "national state" from feudal conditions, were passed in review. The latter phenomenon did not produce necessarily any national feeling in our modern sense, for the central idea was rather that of the fidelity of subjects to their king than that of citizens toward their state. Modern national feeling is a by-product of another mystical entity, democracy, and was power-

fully furthered by the work of the French Revolution and of Napoleon. Fichte's *Reden* gave the first startling example of the old sentiment in its new form. The way was indicated by which the student could trace, in the German and other nations, the development and cultivation of such emotions in the nineteenth century.

The more vital problem, however, is the emergence of modern internationalism. This runs counter to the primitive and uncritical sentiments which underlie nationalism. Internationalism demands clear thinking and conscious adjustment, while nationalism is after all the primitive tribal sentiment, and is now associated with various gross misapprehensions about inherent racial differences which anthropologists, psychologists, and historians are busy dissipating.⁴

In opening the discussion of this paper, Professor Edward B. Krehbiel, of Stanford University, confined himself to the problem of economic self-interest as the foundation of the nation. At their first formation nations were groups plainly isolated from other national groups and having obviously separate economic interests, which the monarch easily represented; but what is the rôle of economic self-interest in this present world, in which nations are so interpenetrated and interwoven? Extra-national commercialism has called into existence many undertakings which operate outside the nation when prosperous, but claim its protection and aid in stress or competition. National competition, however, will be sustained by democracies only so long as the profits from it are believed to exceed its costs. When that is no longer believed, nationalism will have lost what basis it still has in the material world and will be altogether an ideal. The modern tendency is certainly toward ever-enlarging co-operative units (*e. g.*, the Zollverein).

Adverting first to the standing difficulty of defining "nationality" and "nationalism", Professor William T. Laprade, of Trinity College, North Carolina, dissented from Mr. Robinson as to nationalism being a product of democracy, for in England and France certainly nationalism preceded democracy. The sentiment, and the institutions accompanying it, appeared to the speaker to have been born of the practical struggles made by each generation to solve its peculiar problems, to have been the product of natural evolution rather than of conscious adjustment; and the next stage, internationalism, would, he imagined, come about in a similar manner, because by means of it problems could be solved, needs be met, which were found to baffle solution under nationalism. Meanwhile, a thousand points in the history of nationalism called for closer historical investigation.

⁴ The paper may be expected to appear soon in the *Century Magazine*.

Professor Thomas F. Moran, of Purdue University, also regarded nationalism as the product of so many various forces, acting through so many various conflicts, that the transition into a broader nationalism, equivalent to internationalism, was fairly to be expected. Major John Bigelow interposed a caution against regarding internationalism as a substitute for nationality; to his mind it was but a transition from nationality to a larger nationality (*e. g.*, the Zollverein), and carried no evidence of progress toward any higher synthesis. Upon the basis of observation of the Balkan nationalities, Miss Hester D. Jenkins urged that, in so far as education and propaganda had been the leading factors in creating nationalism, they might well be relied upon to bring internationalism forward, ultimately, into equal or even prevailing power.

An allied theme, the Growth of Nationalism in the British Empire, was the subject of another session, which was held in conjunction with the American Political Science Association. The paper on this topic which was read by Professor George M. Wrong, of Toronto, we hope to be able to present before long in the pages of this journal. He was followed by Mr. A. Maurice Low, Washington correspondent of the *Morning Post*, who first outlined the historic development of British opinion respecting colonies, from that which produced the American war of independence, the notion that colonies existed solely for the benefit of the mother-country, down to that which underlies the present British Empire; and then described, with eloquence and force, the impressive proofs afforded by the present war, that an empire composed of practically independent nations may through the force of national feeling acquire unexampled solidity, local freedom and self-government only strengthening the bonds of imperial unity.

Professor George B. Adams, of Yale, began the discussion of the two papers with remarks which laid their main emphasis on three great landmarks in the simultaneous growth of local independence and imperial unity: first, the turn of feeling and policy which ensued upon the definitions, effected in Gladstone's first ministry, of the relations between the colonies and the home government; secondly, the South African War; and thirdly, the present war, with the striking response of the oversea dominions to the empire's need. Professor Charles M. Andrews, of Yale, contrasted the inflexible attitude of English statesmen of the eighteenth century, in relation to the colonial régime, with the policy of frank concessions which had produced the affectionate loyalty pervading the present empire. Major Bigelow questioned whether the solidarity

and strength of that empire had not been exaggerated. Professor Morse Stephens, in closing the discussion, dwelt upon the part played by poetry and sentiment as foundations of its strength.

Another paper of publicistic character, read in a joint session with one of the sections of the Pan-American Scientific Congress, was that of Hon. Henry White, formerly American ambassador in Rome and in Paris, on Diplomacy and Politics; it was a plea, based partly on instances in recent history, for a better system of appointment of our diplomatic representatives in foreign countries, and for the elimination of party politics from our relations with the other nations of the world.

Of the papers relating distinctively to American history, the earliest in date of theme was that of Mr. William H. Babcock, of Washington, on Indications of Visits of White Men to America before Columbus, a paper read before a session held jointly with the Congress of Americanists. After reviewing the familiar stories of early Irish and Norse visits to American shores and the evidences as to the island called Brazil, Mr. Babcock, with the aid of many lantern-slides from fourteenth-century and fifteenth-century maps, set forth his opinion that a Breton expedition at least approached our coast before 1367, that some navigator from the Iberian peninsula almost certainly coasted along Cuba and a few of its neighbors not later than 1435, and that some other navigator perhaps made the crossing from Cape Verde to South America as early as 1448.

Dr. Frances G. Davenport, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, upon the basis of long-continued study of the early treaties of European powers relative to America, read a paper on America and European Diplomacy, to 1648. The main purpose of the paper was to describe the chief diplomatic arrangements which, in the period named, France, England, and the United Provinces respectively concluded with Portugal and Spain with regard to American trade and territory, of both of which Spain and Portugal claimed a monopoly. In the first period, extending to the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559, France was the most formidable opponent of that monopoly. After prolonged negotiations in the years preceding, in which the French claimed access to the Spanish Indies, the treaty named was concluded without mention of the Indies, but with oral agreement, apparently, that Spaniards and Frenchmen encountering one another west of the prime meridian should be free to treat one another as enemies. During the wars of religion in France, and until the Spanish-English treaty of 1604, the lead in efforts to break the monopoly fell to England. In that treaty the

provision respecting navigation to the Indies was finally so worded as to be differently interpreted by the two parties, but England could proceed to colonize Virginia. From 1604 to 1648 the chief rôle in the contest was sustained by the Dutch. In the twelve years' truce of 1609 the States General secured a concession of the India trade, veiled by circumlocutions. The treaty of 1648 conceded in explicit terms the right to trade and acquire territory in America. The assailants of the Spanish-Portuguese monopoly in these three successive periods—Jean Ango and his pilots, Hawkins and Drake, the Dutch West India Company—each played a similar part, each represented a syndicate of capitalists and had governmental support, and each derived its profits partly from trade and partly from booty.

An interesting paper by Professor Bernard Moses, of the University of California, on the Social Revolution of the Eighteenth Century in South America, endeavored to depict the transition which, from the settled social order established by Spain in the seventeenth century, engendered the new and revolutionary society of the early nineteenth century and through it produced independence and the new republics. Stirrings of a new spirit were discernible in the early years of the eighteenth century. The creole class, of colonial birth, had greatly increased in numbers and intelligence. Spain's rigid system of colonial government, taking no account of the great differences of character among the inhabitants of the several political divisions, caused her government to become gradually more ineffective, and permitted the growth of a creole-mestizo party of opposition, and the development in it of community self-consciousness and a certain sense of independence. The French régime under Louis XIV. introduced elements of liberality; their suppression after his death, and the restoration of the old rigid and exclusive Spanish system, fortified discontent. The official class, bound by ties of privilege to a reactionary position, became more and more separate from the new society, the latter more and more conscious of the separation. The social revolution, on its spiritual side, became complete; at the turn of the century it proceeded to establish itself in outward fact.

Another historical paper in the Americanist session, valuable in a different sort, but defying brief summary, was that of the Right Reverend Dr. Charles W. Currier, formerly bishop of Matanzas, now bishop of Hetalonia *in partibus*, on the Sources of Cuban Ecclesiastical History.⁵

The account of the Indians and their Culture as described in

⁵ But the papers read before the Nineteenth Congress of Americanists are soon to be all printed in an official volume.

Swedish and Dutch Records from 1614 to 1644, presented to the Americanists by Dr. Amandus Johnson, of the University of Pennsylvania, was historical in character as well as ethnological, dealing chiefly with the White and Black Minquas (Susquehannas and Eries) of Iroquoian stock.

In the field of Revolutionary history, there were three papers, one by Dr. David J. Hill, formerly ambassador to Germany, entitled a Missing Chapter of Franco-American History, one by Rear-Admiral French E. Chadwick on the Operations of Admiral Count de Grasse, and a report by Captain Hollis C. Clark, U. S. A., of his work under the act for collecting military and naval records of the Revolutionary War with a view to their publication. Admiral Chadwick was absent on account of illness, and only a part of his paper was read. This and Captain Clark's report, and those of Captain Rees and Professor Fish mentioned below, were presented in the joint session held with the Naval History Society.

Dr. Hill's paper dealt with the relations of Franklin to the French constitutionalists. In the flood of French eulogies published at the time of his death in 1790, by far the leading place belongs to those written by the constitutionalists, such as those of Mirabeau and Condorcet. The royalists and democrats surveyed his character and career coolly and critically. To the constitutionalists he was the chief political thinker of the age, the discoverer, we may almost say, of the foundations of society. Franklin had in fact been a member, and had been designated as the "Venerable", of the society of the Nine Sisters, an esoteric school of political thought in France, the first school of constitutionalism on the continent of Europe. This society had a great influence on the constitutionalist movement in France, and on the French Revolution in its first period. Its members played an important part in giving both shape and substance to that earlier phase of the Revolution; and much influence upon it, by means of his association with them in this society, and their regard for him, must be attributed to Franklin. The paper will appear later in this journal.

Admiral Chadwick's narrative, based in part upon the papers of Count de Grasse, which he is editing for the Naval History Society, traced the history of the consultations between Washington and Rochambeau in New England and Grasse in the West Indies, the voyages of Grasse and Barras to the Chesapeake, the ill-adjusted movements of Hood and Graves toward a junction, the battle of September 5, 1781, and its happy effects upon the Yorktown campaign. The presence and work of this French fleet gave America

her independence. Yet Admiral Chadwick showed easily, from the letters, signals, and movements of both naval commanders, how imperfectly they had grasped their true objective, to give support and bring decisive victory to their respective parties in the land campaign. Graves in particular, who might have been victorious if he had promptly attacked the van of the French fleet while the remainder was emerging from the Capes, was hidebound in adherence to the old Fighting Instructions; and though Hood criticized his conduct with severity, it is impossible to avoid the conviction that he himself did not do his full duty as a loyal subordinate.

The undertaking of which Captain Clark had had charge, under the War Department, and whose results he described, was provided for in an act of Congress of March 2, 1913, passed mainly through the endeavors of the Society of the Cincinnati. The appropriation made, \$32,000, was a small one, for the magnitude of the object. The War Department, the Navy Department, the Library of Congress, and some other governmental institutions in Washington, have large masses of military and naval records and correspondence of the period from 1775 to 1783, and the War Department had some twenty years before transcribed the principal Revolutionary records of Delaware, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, and Vermont. Therefore work under the new appropriation was naturally turned toward the archives of other states. With the money in hand, it was deemed wise to confine operations to three states, Massachusetts, Virginia, and North Carolina. At the request of the two departments, the American Historical Association appointed an advisory committee, with Major Bigelow as chairman, and this committee recommended searchers and drafted instructions. The copying was done by photography, experiment being made of various methods, which the director described in his paper. He also described the experimental campaign of publicity carried on in Virginia, but concluded that the best results in respect to papers in private hands were to be obtained rather by the quiet and patient efforts of well-informed and tactful searchers. The two departments co-operated in the work, the Navy Department appointing its librarian, Mr. Charles W. Stewart, to act on its part, in conjunction with Captain Clark. In all, 30,522 prints were collected under the appropriation—substantially twenty thousand in Massachusetts, six thousand in Virginia, four thousand in North Carolina. In no one of the three were these results exhaustive, but Congress has for the present declined to make any further appropriation.

Other papers of a military character were those of Captain

Robert I. Rees, U. S. A., on Bladensburg, of Professor Carl R. Fish, on the Organization of the Wisconsin Volunteers in 1861, and of Mr. Oswald G. Villard, on the Submarine and Torpedo in the Blockade of the Confederacy.⁶ Captain Rees described the British expeditionary force and its invasion, the efforts of the American government to meet it, the difficulties which these efforts encountered because of the loose control which the federal government had over state militia, the course of the fighting, the devastation of Washington, and the other results of the battle. He also discussed briefly the causes for the failure of the defense.

Professor Fish's contribution was a detailed study of the way in which the first Wisconsin troops of the Civil War were actually brought together, equipped, taken care of, drilled, and finally turned over to the national government. The results were good in the number of men provided, in their quality, and, relatively speaking, in their preparation. This was due to no special excellence of organization, but to the skill and attention of the governor and the spontaneous activity of the localities. The villages provided the companies, the state organized the regiments, the national government then took them over.

Mr. Villard showed how the credit for the first effective use of torpedoes and submarines in naval warfare belongs to the Confederates, blockaded by sea as is the German Empire to-day. By July 22, 1861, floating mines had been found in the Potomac and at Hampton Roads. The feeling against the use of such devices was at first very bitter. A naval torpedo service had been created as early as June 10, and placed in charge of Commander Matthew F. Maury, C. S. N., the distinguished scientist, who in the next June mined the James River, after the battle of Seven Pines, then sailed to Europe, to return, too late, with abundant torpedo supplies. It was at best a hastily improvised service, lacking much necessary material and supplying its place by ingenious contrivances of remarkable variety; yet, from first to last, four monitors, three iron-clads, nine gunboats, seven transports, and six colliers and tugs fell victims to torpedoes or mines, with loss of many lives, while the deterrent effect of such weapons was of course also extensive. Mr. Villard likewise gave an account of the Confederate use of submarines in the defense of Charleston harbor.

Of the papers which related to the civil history of the United States, two bore upon themes in economic history, that of Professor Louis B. Schmidt, of the Iowa State College of Agriculture, on the

⁶ Those of Captain Rees and Professor Fish are, it is understood, to appear in the *Military Historian and Economist*.

Economic History of American Agriculture as a Field for Study, and that of Dr. Victor S. Clark, of the economic department of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, on the Influence of Manufactures upon Political Sentiment in the United States from 1820 to 1860.⁷ Dr. Schmidt rightly declared that the economic history of American agriculture had not received its due share of attention, and that it was essential to any well-balanced view of national progress in a country which from the beginning had consisted mainly of rural communities. Broadly conceived, it should include not only the evolution of agriculture in the different sections, and the problems engaging the attention of the rural population in the different periods, but the relation of agriculture to other industries, and in short the whole life of the rural population and the influence of our agricultural development on our national existence. After describing more fully the reasons for the study of this portion of American history, Dr. Schmidt stated some of the problems which await the labors of the historian: the history of the public lands; the history of specific leading agricultural industries; the economic history of agriculture by states or given regions; the history of farmers' organizations, of agricultural labor, of farm machinery; the influence of immigration on the development of agriculture; the transportation of agricultural products; markets and prices; the relation of agriculture to financial legislation, and the like.

Dr. Clark began with the organization of the new manufacturing interest as a political force a few years after 1815, and with the efforts it made to strengthen the national government, because the federal power alone could protect domestic industries. It soon aroused an opposition based ostensibly upon constitutional theories, but in fact upon the discordant economic interests of the different parts of the country. These would have been sufficient, without the presence of slavery, to explain the different attitudes of the sections toward public policies, and consequently their different theories of government. For a time manufacturing, in increasing the economic diversity of the country, added to its sectional discord; but, as the most highly co-operative form of production and the form most dependent upon an efficient government for its prosperity, it ultimately tended to produce closer and firmer political relations within the state. Even before the Civil War the economic purpose of the state was again attaining recognition. The unity and strength of the government were seen to affect directly the welfare of industrial workers and employers. The growing interdependence of society was manifested in production through the new organization

⁷ To appear later in this journal.

and expansion of manufactures. Political institutions responded to the change by extending their authority and functions.

In an address which could be regarded as a by-product of the thoroughgoing studies he has been making toward his biography of Chief Justice Marshall, Senator Beveridge described the sources he had unearthed for such a life, and especially its earlier portion, and, with extracts and comments, showed how they illuminated his character as a young lawyer, as a statesman, as a lover, and as a friend.

Miss Ida M. Tarbell's paper on the Education of the American Woman in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century first described those private schools and academies for girls with which the century opened, and adverted to the important influence of Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*; she then proceeded to the endeavors of Emma Willard to obtain state support for female education in New York, of Mary Lyon to maintain at Mount Holyoke a privately endowed school of high grade, and of Catherine Beecher in the West, narrated the beginnings of coeducational collegiate instruction at Oberlin and Antioch colleges, and traced the movement till the time when the high schools of Boston and New York were thrown open to girls.

Finally, a paper by Professor William I. Hull, of Swarthmore College, on the Monroe Doctrine as applied to Mexico, took up in turn the three fields in which the doctrine had been applied, those of territory, trade, and government, and showed how it had operated in each to exclude European domination, then to assert the paramount interests of the United States, and finally to subordinate those interests to a wider Pan-Americanism. He urged that this last movement should not be allowed to hinder the new internationalism of our time from developing and strengthening of institutions.

Not a few of the papers, it will have been seen, had a more or less close relation to the international affairs of the present day, but nowhere was there manifested in the discussion any other than that pacific and considerate spirit which is appropriate to the historical profession. A similar temper prevailed, in general, in the business meeting. Interest in that meeting, and expectancy in regard to the report of the Committee of Nine appointed a year before "to consider the constitution, organization, and procedure of the Association, and the relationship between the Association and the *American Historical Review*", had the chief part in bringing about the exceptionally large attendance at this Washington meeting; but interest and expectancy were shown to be compatible with patience and good temper.

Before the report of that committee could be reached, however, the usual series of annual reports had to be presented. The secretary stated the total membership to be 2956, a net gain during the year of 43 members. The treasurer reported net receipts of \$10,728 during the year, net disbursements of \$10,457, and assets of \$27,062, a gain of \$264. At his request a finance committee of three, distinct from the financial committee of the Executive Council, was appointed by the Association to examine the finances and report at the next annual meeting. The secretary of the Council reported the election of Professors Ephraim Emerton and Claude H. Van Tyne as members of the Board of Editors of this journal, in the place of Professors Burr and Turner. He also reported the list of committee assignments and the budget drawn up by the Council. These are printed as appendixes to this article, as likewise a summary of the treasurer's report, and all important votes of the Association and of the Council.

Reports were made as follows: for the Pacific Coast Branch by Professor Ephraim D. Adams, delegate of the branch; for the Public Archives Commission by its chairman, Mr. Victor H. Paltsits; for the Committee on Publications by Professor Max Farrand; for the Committee on History in Schools by Professor William S. Ferguson; for the Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review* by Professor Edward P. Cheyney; and for the Advisory Board of Editors of the *History Teacher's Magazine* by Professor Henry Johnson. Besides these reports by chairmen, statements less formal were made for committees whose chairmen were absent—the Historical Manuscripts Commission and the General Committee. On report and recommendation from the Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize, that prize was awarded to Dr. Theodore C. Pease for an essay entitled "The Leveller Movement"; the committee made honorable mention of an essay on Napoleon's System of Licensed Navigation, 1806-1814, by Dr. Frank E. Melvin. The Committee on the Military History Prize deemed it inexpedient to award the prize to any of the present contestants.

The chairman of the Committee of Nine, Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin, being absent on account of illness, its report was presented by Professor William A. Dunning as vice-chairman. It was somewhat late when this report was reached, but it had been circulated in print on the preceding day. The recommendations made by the committee are presented in an appendix to this article. That the Association had so happy an issue from a meeting to which not a few members had looked forward with anxiety is, in the judg-

ment of the present writer, mainly due to the painstaking labors of this committee and its judicious recommendations, which seemed on the whole to produce general contentment. The committee proposed three amendments to the constitution (chiefly relating to the composition of the Council), four by-laws (chiefly relating to elections), four recommendations as to procedure, and two resolutions regarding the *American Historical Review*. There was unfortunately too little time for immediate discussion. The constitutional amendments, in accordance with existing constitutional provision, were referred to the next annual meeting. The same course was taken with the by-laws. The recommendations as to procedure were adopted at once. With respect to this journal, the Association voted in principle that full ownership and control should be vested in the Association, but left it to a committee to outline the needful arrangements and report them to the next annual meeting.

The election of officers was conducted in accordance with the plan proposed by Professor Hull's committee a year before, and the same plan was continued for use in 1916. Professor Charles H. McIlwain, chairman of the Committee on Nominations, reported for that committee the following nominations: for president, Professor George L. Burr; for first vice-president, Mr. Worthington C. Ford; for second vice-president, Mr. William R. Thayer; for secretary, Mr. Waldo G. Leland; for treasurer, Dr. Clarence W. Bowen; for curator, Mr. A. Howard Clark; for secretary of the council, Professor Evarts B. Greene; for additional members of the council, Dr. Frederic Bancroft and Professors Eugene C. Barker, Guy S. Ford, Charles H. Haskins, Ulrich B. Phillips, and Lucy M. Salmon. He further presented the name of Professor Samuel B. Harding, nominated by petition. Dr. Frederic Bancroft's name was, at his request, withdrawn. The others who have been named were unanimously elected. The following were chosen by the association as the Committee on Nominations for 1916: Professor Frank M. Anderson, chairman, Dr. Lois K. Mathews, Professor Edmond S. Meany, President Charles H. Rammelkamp, and Mr. Alfred H. Stone. The Association then adjourned, to meet in Cincinnati at the end of next December.

Such were in bare outline the proceedings of the business meeting. Many details can be filled in from the votes and proposals textually quoted in appendixes to this article. But more memorable, and more important to the future of the Association than any specific measures, was the spirit which pervaded the meeting, and the impressive demonstration of the society's abiding unity and harmony. The presence of more than four hundred keenly in-

terested members in a business meeting was in itself a gratifying sight, well worth some gropings in procedure, and contrasting strongly with the small and lifeless though mechanically correct meetings which have been frequent. More valuable still, it was clearly shown that there are and have been no parties in the Association, though there have been all gradations of opinion, from the ultra-conservative to the ultra-radical. It was amply shown, on the one hand, that even those who most earnestly desired the introduction of a democratic order were disposed, with exceptions so few in number as to be negligible, to seek that end without imputing misconduct or self-seeking to those who have held office or conducted affairs under the old régime. On the other hand, it was made clear that those who saw little occasion for reorganization, and still less for calling it by the censorious name of reform, were able to defer with composure to the wishes of others, and to take their part loyally and serenely in the reshaping of institutions and practice. In short, it was demonstrated that a great society of historical scholars was able, as it ought to be able if historical training has anything of the value attributed to it, to pass through these "growing pains" from adolescence to maturity without loss of moderation, just feeling, or urbanity.

What interpretation should be placed upon this whole episode of transition will be clearer ten years from now than it can be to-day. Yet it seems likely that the man of 1926, or the observer from Mars, would declare it to be little other than a natural stage in the evolution of large scientific societies. Parallel instances in the history of other such societies, they would affirm, have not been lacking. It is natural for such societies to be for considerable periods managed by a small number of those most interested. The American Historical Association, they might say, was managed by a much smaller number of persons before 1896 than at any time thereafter. That even in the subsequent years its affairs were mainly conducted by a moderate number of members was, they might maintain, a régime justified by the acquiescence or indifference of the majority, so long as elections were unconstrained and business was managed with efficiency and in no other interest than that of the whole membership; but whenever that acquiescence should become impaired, on the part of even a considerable minority, or whenever indifference should be brought to an end by any causes that should arouse a wider interest among the members, no effort should be made to maintain the old régime, lest it become an unrepresentative oligarchy. The way should be left wide open, they would declare, for a thorough democratization of rules and practice, in accordance with new

states of mind on the part of the membership. And such indeed, they might well affirm, had been the constant attitude of the existing Executive Council. That attitude was justly described in these pages a year ago (XX. 523) as "the obvious desire of the Council to place itself at the disposal of the Association". "No other attitude", it was added, "is proper, and no other was suggested in the [then recent] meeting of the Council".

Similarly, with respect to the relations of the Association to this journal, there is no occasion to modify the expressions used a year ago (XX. 525) as to the willingness of the Board of Editors to fall in with any plan of organization which might seem to serve better the interests of its readers and of the historical profession, in so far as these are represented in the Association. The transfer of ownership to the Association was readily and unanimously agreed to by the Board, and it will co-operate loyally in working out the details. If no very solid reasons for making the transfer have been advanced, excepting that the Association plainly desires it, that desire itself is, to any considerate mind, a very solid reason.

J. F. J.

VOTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, DECEMBER 27 AND 28, 1915

The following estimate of expenditures for 1916 was approved.

Expenses of Administration:		\$2,025.00
Secretary and treasurer	\$1,500.00	
Secretary of the Council	50.00	
Executive Council	300.00	
Committee on Nominations.....	25.00	
Miscellaneous	150.00	
Annual Meetings:		125.00
Committee on Programme, 1915.....	50.00	
Committee on Programme, 1916.....	50.00	
Conference of Historical Societies.....	25.00	
Publications:		1,597.73
Committee on Publications	797.73	
Editorial work	200.00	
Cumulative index to <i>Papers and Reports</i>	600.00	
<i>American Historical Review</i>		4,560.00
Standing Committees:		240.00
Public Archives Commission	100.00	
General Committee	75.00	
Committee on Bibliography	25.00	
Committee on History in Schools	40.00	
Prizes and Subventions:		750.00
Justin Winsor Prize (1914)	150.00	
<i>Writings on American History</i>	200.00	
<i>History Teacher's Magazine</i>	400.00	
Expenses of Committee of Nine		225.00
		\$9,522.73

Mr. Ephraim Emerton was elected a member of the Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review* for two years from January 1, 1916, to fill the unexpired term of Mr. George L. Burr, resigned.

Mr. Claude H. Van Tyne was elected a member of the Board of Editors of the *Review* to serve six years from January 1, 1916.

It was voted to create a standing Committee of the Council on Finance, to consist of the secretaries, the treasurer, and two other members of the Council.

It was voted to rescind the vote of the Council of December 30, 1901, assigning to the secretary of the Association the duty of editing the annual reports and that hereafter the work of editing the annual reports and the prize essays be performed under the direction of the Publication Committee.

It was voted that the treasurer be instructed to rule that payments to members of the Association for travelling expenses incurred in attending meetings of committees shall, unless otherwise ordered by the Council, cover transportation and Pullman fares only.

It was voted that the treasurer is authorized to pay no travelling expenses of any member, board, or committee on account of meetings of such boards and committees held at the time and place of the annual meeting of the Association.

VOTES OF THE ASSOCIATION IN BUSINESS MEETING

Voted, That a Finance Committee of three, not members of the Executive Council, be selected by the Association to examine and report on the finances of the Association at the next annual meeting.

Voted, That the January and subsequent issues of the *Review* will not be sent to members until their current dues are paid. Members whose dues remain unpaid after June 1 will not be carried upon the roll of the Association, but they may be reinstated at any time thereafter upon payment of the dues then current.

Voted, That in view of the present financial condition of the Association, payments for travelling expenses, authorized by vote of the Association on December 29, 1902,¹ are limited for the present to transportation and Pullman fares.

Resolved, That the attacks made during the last year upon the character and motives of certain prominent and honored members of this Association meet with our entire disapproval, and that we hereby express our full confidence in the men whose motives and conduct have been thus impugned.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of the Association that full ownership and control of the *American Historical Review* should be vested in the Association, but that the present connection of the said *Review* with the Carnegie Institution of Washington and with the Macmillan Company, publishers, be continued.

Resolved, That the president, the first vice-president, the secretary of the Council, the secretary of the Association, and the treasurer be instructed to ascertain what arrangements can be made to effect that end, and report at the next annual meeting of the Association.

Voted, That the procedure as to nominations which was adopted for

¹ A vote providing for the payment of travelling expenses of members of the Council attending the November meeting.

the year 1915 at the last annual meeting of the Association be followed for the year 1916.²

SUMMARY OF TREASURER'S REPORT

December 21, 1915

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand December 23, 1914	\$ 2,382.96
Annual dues	8,234.13
Dividend on bank stock	200.00
Interest on bond and mortgage	900.00
Loan, C. W. Bowen	625.00
Publications	872.38
From Board of Editors of <i>American Historical Review</i>	400.00
Miscellaneous	122.05
	<u>\$13,736.52</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

Expense of Administration:

Offices of secretary and treasurer	\$2,080.91
Secretary of the Council	68.52
Executive Council	352.51
Miscellaneous	165.90
Payment of loan	625.00
London headquarters	100.00
Pacific Coast Branch	72.24

3,465.08

Annual Meetings:

Thirtieth	46.40
Thirty-first	309.73

356.13

Publications:

Committee on Publications	852.13
Editorial services	300.00
General Index to <i>Papers and Reports</i>	500.00

1,652.13

American Historical Review:

4,403.20

Standing Committees:

Historical Manuscripts Commission	57.65
Public Archives Commission	150.00
General Committee	15.64
Committee on Bibliography	56.26
Committee on History in Schools	112.63

392.18

Prizes and Subventions:

Justin Winsor Prize Committee	13.72
Herbert Baxter Adams Prize Committee	200.00
<i>Writings on American History</i>	200.00
<i>History Teacher's Magazine</i>	400.00

813.72

\$11,082.44

Balance on hand December 21, 1915

2,654.08

\$13,736.52

² The procedure was described in this journal a year ago (XX, 523-524).

ASSETS

Bond and mortgage on real estate	\$20,000.00
Accrued interest on above	208.07
Twenty shares American Exchange National Bank stock	4,200.00
Cash on hand	2,654.08
	<hr/> \$27,062.15

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE OF NINE

[*Respecting the constitution.*] That the following article be substituted for article IV. of the present constitution:

(IV.)

The officers shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a secretary, a secretary of the council, a curator, and a treasurer. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting in the manner provided in the by-laws.

That the following article be substituted for article V. of the present constitution:

(V.)

There shall be an Executive Council constituted as follows:

- (1) The officers named in article IV.;
- (2) Elected members, eight in number, to be chosen annually in the same manner as the officers of the Association;
- (3) The former presidents, but a former president shall be entitled to vote for the three years succeeding the expiration of his term as president, and no longer.

That a new article be adopted, numbered VI., as follows:

(VI.)

The Executive Council shall conduct the business, manage the property, and care for the general interests of the Association. In the exercise of its proper functions, the Council may appoint such committees, commissions, and boards as it may deem necessary. The Council shall make a full report of its activities to the annual meeting of the Association. The Association may by vote at any annual meeting instruct the Executive Council to discontinue or enter upon any activity, and may take such other action in directing the affairs of the Association as it may deem necessary and proper.

That article VI. of the existing constitution be re-numbered VII.

(*All the above, in accordance with article VI. of the existing constitution, were referred to the next annual meeting.*)

[*Respecting by-laws.*] Your committee recommends the adoption of the following by-laws:

(1) The officers provided for by the constitution shall have the duties and perform the functions customarily attaching to their respective offices with such others as may from time to time be prescribed.

(2) A nomination committee of five members shall be chosen at each annual meeting in the manner hereafter provided for the election of

officers of the Association. At such convenient time prior to the first of October as it may determine it shall invite every member to express to it his preference regarding every office to be filled by election at the ensuing annual meeting and regarding the composition of the new nominating committee then to be chosen. It shall publish and mail to each member at least twenty days prior to the annual meeting such nominations as it may determine upon for each elective office and for the next nominating committee. It shall prepare for use at the annual meeting an official ballot containing, as candidates for each office or committee membership to be filled thereat, the names of its nominees and also the names of any other nominees which may be proposed to the chairman of the committee in writing by twenty or more members of the Association at least five days before the annual meeting. The official ballot shall also provide, under each office, a blank space for voting for such further nominees as any member may present from the floor at the time of the election.

(3) The annual election of officers and the choice of a nominating committee for the ensuing year shall be conducted by the use of an official ballot prepared as described in by-law two.

(4) The Association authorizes the payment of travelling expenses incurred by the voting members of the Council attending one meeting of that body a year, this meeting to be other than that held in connection with the annual meeting of the Association.

(All the above were referred to the next annual meeting.)

[*Respecting procedure.*] Your committee suggests:

First, that to the business meeting, including the election, there should be given a full half-day, as in this year's programme;

Secondly, that, as was done at Chicago, the minutes of the Council should be printed and distributed at or before the business meeting;

Thirdly, that written reports from standing committees and commissions, showing in full the work accomplished, and in detail the expense incurred, should be made in writing to the Council at least two weeks before the annual meeting, should be held by the secretary of the Association at his office, and at the place of the annual meeting, during its continuance, subject to inspection by any member, and should be read in the business meeting by title only unless the reading of the full report be called for by ten members present, or directed by the Council;

Fourthly, that, on the other hand, new activities and all matters in which there is reason to suppose that the Association takes a special interest, should be somewhat fully presented by the Council at the business meeting.

The purpose of these recommendations is, on the one hand, to give members an opportunity of keeping acquainted with the work of the Association, its Council and committees, and, on the other, to free the business meetings of unnecessary detail.

Since only a minority of the members of the Association ever attend the business meetings, we also suggest that it would be well if the abstracts of proceedings prepared by the secretary and the secretary of the Council for printing in the *Annual Report* could contain more extended information than hitherto concerning the Association's activities aside from the historical papers read at the meetings.

(The above were adopted forthwith by the Association.)

[*Respecting the American Historical Review.*] Your committee recommends that the Association adopt the following resolutions:

(1) *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of the Association that full ownership and control of the *American Historical Review* should be vested in the Association.

(2) *Resolved*, That the president, the first vice-president, the secretary of the Council, the secretary of the Association, and the treasurer be instructed to make such arrangements as may be necessary to that end, and be authorized to enter into such arrangements and agreements as may be requisite for the publication and management of the *Review*, until final action is taken by the Council.

(*Modified forms of the above were adopted by the Association; see the fifth and sixth paragraphs of its votes quoted above, p. 462.*)

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

President, George L. Burr, Ithaca, N. Y.

First Vice-President, Worthington C. Ford, Boston.

Second Vice-President, William Roscoe Thayer, Cambridge.

Secretary, Waldo G. Leland, Carnegie Institution, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington.

Treasurer, Clarence W. Bowen of New York (address 1140 Woodward Building, Washington).

Secretary to the Council, Evarts B. Greene, Urbana, Ill.

Curator, A. Howard Clark, Smithsonian Institution.

Executive Council (in addition to the above-named officers):

Andrew D. White,¹

James B. Angell,¹

Henry Adams,¹

James Schouler,¹

James Ford Rhodes,¹

John B. McMaster,¹

Simeon E. Baldwin,¹

J. Franklin Jameson,¹

George B. Adams,¹

Albert Bushnell Hart,¹

Frederick J. Turner,¹

William M. Sloane,¹

Theodore Roosevelt,¹

William A. Dunning,¹

Andrew C. McLaughlin,¹

H. Morse Stephens,¹

Eugene C. Barker,

Guy S. Ford,

Samuel B. Harding,

Charles H. Haskins,

Ulrich B. Phillips,

Lucy M. Salmon.

Committees:

Committee on Programme for the Thirty-second Annual Meeting:

Henry E. Bourne, chairman; Frank M. Anderson, Wilbur H. Siebert, Edward R. Turner, Merrick Whitcomb, James A. Woodburn.

Committee on Local Arrangements: Charles P. Taft, chairman;

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THE TRUE ROGER BACON, II

WE turn from Bacon's criticism to ask what constructive contributions he made in the direction of modern thought, and, on the other hand, what ideas, now obsolete, still persisted in his philosophy. We cannot regard his mere interest in natural science as especially noteworthy, since many men of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries wrote on nature and even showed signs of an independent scientific spirit. The question therefore becomes whether his method of studying nature was superior to theirs, whether he was unique in such things as his advocacy of mathematics and of experimental science. But let us first consider a side of his thought that has seldom been emphasized, namely, his historical attitude.

In one sense history was a weak point with Bacon as with most of his contemporaries. He not only accepted the faulty accounts of the past current in his day, but was apt to pounce upon the most sensational and incredible details and use these to support his case. He had no notion of historical criticism. Unfortunately he thought that he knew a good deal about the history of philosophy, and his attitude to science is colored by his false ideas of the history of intellectual development. He of course knew nothing of evolution or of prehistoric man. For him intellectual history commenced with a complete divine revelation of philosophy to the patriarchs. Science then declined owing to the sinfulness of mankind, the invention of magic by Zoroaster, and further corruption of wisdom at the hands of Nimrod, Atlas, Prometheus, Hermes Trismegistus, Aesculapius, and Apollo. Complete knowledge and understanding were granted again by God to Solomon, after whom succeeded another period of sinful decline, until with Thales began the gradual upbuilding of Greek philosophy culminating in Aristotle. Then night set in again, until Avicenna revived philosophy among the Arabs. To him and Aristotle, however, as infidels, less complete knowledge was vouchsafed than to the representatives of God's chosen people.¹ Of the composition and development of Roman law Bacon had so little notion that he thought it borrowed chiefly from Aristotle and Theophrastus, except that the Twelve Tables were derived from the laws of Solon.² Though he saw the value of linguistics and textual criticism, and sought with true humanistic ardor for a lost work like the

¹ *Opus Majus*, Bridges, I. 20, 45-56, and 65; *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, pp. 24-25, 32.

² *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 50.

Morals of Seneca, he accepted as genuine works of antiquity spurious treatises like the *De Vetula* ascribed to Ovid.³ He believed that Paul had corresponded with Seneca and that Alexander's conquests were due to Aristotle's experimental science. We shall soon see how he used the astrological interpretation of history, which was the medieval counterpart of our geographical and economic interpretation. Yet Bacon deserves praise for so often opening his discussion of a problem by an inquiry into its historical background; he at least tried to adopt the historical point of view. And on the whole his historical method makes about as close an approach to modern research as do his mathematics and experimental science to their modern parallels.

Yet the introduction of mathematical method into natural science has often been attributed to Roger Bacon, in which respect he has been favorably contrasted with Francis Bacon. Therefore it will be well to note exactly what Roger says on this point and whether his observations were notably in advance of the thought of his times. The discussion in the *Opus Maius* opens with strong assertions of the necessity for a knowledge of mathematics in the study of natural science and of theology as well; and we are told that neglect of mathematics for the past thirty or forty years has been the ruin of Latin learning. This position is supported by citation of various authorities and by some vague general arguments in typical scholastic style. Grammar and logic must employ music, a branch of mathematics, in prosody and persuasive periods. The categories of time, place, and quantity require mathematical knowledge for their comprehension. Mathematics must underlie other subjects because it is by nature the most elementary and the easiest to learn and the first discovered. Moreover, all our sense knowledge is received in space, in time, and quantitatively. Also the certitude of mathematics makes it desirable that other studies avail themselves of its aid.

But now we come to the application of these glittering generalities and we see what Bacon's "mathematical method" really amounts to. Briefly, it consists in expounding his physical and astronomical theories by means of simple geometrical diagrams. The atomical doctrine of Democritus cannot be true, since it involves the error that the hypothenuse is of the same length as the side of a square. Geometry satisfies Roger that there can be but one universe; otherwise we should have a vacuum left. Plato's assertion that the heavens and four elements are made up each of one group of regu-

³ Pierre d'Ailly in 1410 in *De Legibus et Sectis*, cap. 4, pointed out that Bacon was relying upon a spurious work.

lar solids is also subjected to geometrical scrutiny. Mathematics is further of service in Biblical geography, in sacred chronology, and in allegorical interpretation of the dimensions of the ark, temple, and tabernacle, and of various numbers which occur in Scripture. But mathematics, according to Bacon, plays its greatest rôle in astronomy or astrology and in physics, and in his favorite theory of multiplication of species or virtues, or, as modern writers have flatteringly termed it, the propagation of force.⁴

Astronomy and astrology had together long made up the world's supreme science; there was no originality in urging their importance. In physics Bacon borrowed his discussion of weights and falling bodies from Jordanus, an earlier writer in the thirteenth century, and his optic from Alhazen and Grosseteste and from treatises which passed then under the names of Ptolemy and Euclid but were perhaps of more recent origin.⁵ Bacon's graphic expression of the multiplication of species by lines and figures we find earlier in Grosseteste's *De Lineis, Angulis, et Figuris*.⁶ It does not seem, therefore, that Bacon made any new suggestions of great importance concerning the application of mathematical method in the sciences, and historians of mathematics have recognized that "he contributed nothing to the pure science",⁷ of whose very meaning his notion was inadequate.

In considering Bacon's "mathematics" we must never forget that for him the term included astrology, which in truth seemed to him by far the most important and practical part of mathematics. By its aid he believed that the future could be foretold and also that marvellous operations and great alterations could be effected throughout the whole world, especially by choosing favorable hours and by employing astronomical amulets and characters. If a doctor does not know astronomy, his medical treatment will be dependent on "chance and fortune".⁸ Recent bloody wars might have been avoided had men harkened to warnings written in the sky.⁹ Bacon was very desirous that the Church should avail itself of the guidance of astrology; and he feared the harm that Antichrist, or the

⁴ Little, *Essays*, p. 16, quoting Adamson, *Roger Bacon: the Philosophy of Science in the Middle Ages* (1876), which is now out of print.

⁵ Ptolemy's *Optics* is known only in Latin form, supposedly translated from the Arabic, edited by Govi (Turin, 1885); see Bridges, I. lxx. The *Optica* ascribed to Euclid is contained in Heiberg's edition (Leipzig, 1895).

⁶ Baur, in Little, *Essays*, pp. 46-47.

⁷ D. E. Smith, in Little, *Essays*, p. 171, citing Heilbronner and other historians of mathematics. Professor Smith has very kindly permitted me to see in manuscript form his forthcoming edition of the *Communia Mathematicae* of Roger Bacon.

⁸ Gasquet, "An Unpublished Fragment of a Work by Roger Bacon", *English Historical Review*, XII. 516.

⁹ Bridges, I. 386.

Tatars with their astrologers, would do Christendom, if the Church neglected this art.¹⁰

Bacon thought the stars ungenerated, incorruptible, voluntary in their movements, which were due to angelic intelligences.¹¹ He asserted that "it is manifest to everyone that the celestial bodies are the causes of generation and corruption in all inferior things".¹² This was, indeed, for all men of his time with any scientific pretensions, a fundamental law of nature. In explaining the operation of this celestial influence Bacon accepted the usual technique of the astrological art.¹³ He further believed that the "complexions" or physical constitutions of human beings were determined by the constellations at the time of conception and birth, and that with each passing hour the rule of the body passed from one planet to another. He even held that the stars by their influence upon the human body incline men to bad acts and evil arts or to good conduct and useful sciences. Such natural inclinations might, however, be resisted by effort of will, modified by divine grace, or strengthened by diabolic tempting. Bacon, indeed, was always careful to exempt the human will from the rule of the stars; he explains that what the canon law condemns in its penalties against the *mathematici* is the false and superstitious variety of *mathematica* which accepts the doctrine of fatal necessity. But Bacon contends that true astrologers like Haly, Ptolemy, Avicenna, and Messahala have never held this doctrine, though common report ignorantly attributes it to them. While the individual by an effort of will may resist the force of the stars, in masses of men the power of the constellations usually prevails; and the differences in peoples inhabiting different parts of the earth are due to their being under different aspects of the sky. The personality of the king, too, has such great influence upon his kingdom that it is worth while to examine his horoscope carefully. Even Jesus Christ, in so far as his nature was human and his birth natural, was, like the rest of humanity, under the influence of the constellations; and the virgin birth was, as Albumasar states, fore-shown by the stars.

Bacon was especially attracted by the doctrine of Albumasar concerning conjunctions of the planets, and derived comforting evidence of the superiority of the Christian faith to other religions

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 399-403.

¹¹ Steele, *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, fasc. I., p. 12; fasc. III., pp. 228-239; Bridges, II. 450.

¹² *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 107, and several other passages.

¹³ Astrology is discussed by Bacon in Bridges, I. 138-143, 238-269, and 376-404; Gasquet, pp. 512-516; *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, pp. 105-106, 271-272; *Opus Minus*, Brewer, pp. 320-321; *Compendium Studii*, Brewer, pp. 421-422; Little, *Part of the Opus Tertium*, pp. 1-19; and in many scattered passages.

from the astrological explanation of the origin of religious sects according to the successive conjunctions of the other planets with Jupiter.¹⁴ He was pleased by the association of Christianity with Mercury, which he calls the lord of wisdom and eloquence, of oracles and prophecies; it is dominant only in the sign Virgo, which at once suggests the Virgin Mary; and its orbit, difficult to trace because of epicycle and eccentric, typifies well the Christian creed with its mysteries that defy reason. Similarly the malign force of the moon, productive of necromancy and magic, fits Antichrist exactly; and Venus corresponds to the sensuality of Mohammedanism. Further astrological evidences of Christianity are the coincidence six years before the birth of Christ of an important conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter with a tenth revolution of Saturn, which last occurs only at intervals of 320 years and always marks some great historical change like the advent of Alexander or Manes or Mohammed. Astrology further assures us that Islam can endure only 693 years, a prediction in close agreement with the number of the beast in the Apocalypse, 663 (*sic*)^{14a}; the small discrepancy of thirty years is readily accounted for by the dictum of the venerable Bede that "Scripture in many places subtracts something from the complete number, for that's the way with Scripture."

We have perhaps sufficiently illustrated the loose logic that could satisfy a man whom some have thought the first to suggest the mathematical method of modern science. But it must be added that Bacon believed that art as well as nature was governed by the constellations; that "every new-made thing received the virtue of the sky" just as the babe was supposed to receive it at birth; that images could acquire great virtues by being carved upon gems under certain aspects of the heavens. As he held that saints and patriarchs of old had been great astrologers, so he declares that Moses and Solomon were adepts in this art of images, and that by it "all injuries can be repelled and useful undertakings promoted".

In these mistaken notions Roger was quite as representative of his age as in his interest in natural science. We find Christian astrologers in the declining Roman empire;¹⁵ dream-books and moon-

¹⁴ Both this doctrine and Albumasar's reference to the birth of Jesus are given in Steele, *Opera hactenus inedita*, fasc. I., pp. 42-50, and 8-9, as well as in the passages listed in note 13.

^{14a} Bridges, I, 266: "Et huic sententiae concordat apocalypsis xiii capitulo. Nam dicit quod numerus bestiae est 663, qui numerus est minor praedicto per xxx annos. Sed scriptura in multis locis subtrahit aliquid de numero completo, nam hic est mos scripturae ut dicit Beda."

¹⁵ Hephaestion of Thebes apparently was a Christian astrologer at the close of the fourth century of our era, Engelbrecht, *Hephästion von Theben und sein Astrologisches Compendium* (Vienna, 1887). So perhaps was Julius Firmicus Maternus, whose Latin *Mathesis* was known in the West in the eleventh and

books, and tracts on divination from thunder and the kalends of the month, and the "Sphere of Apuleius" with its Egyptian days are found through the Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon periods.¹⁶ In the twelfth century Bernard Sylvestris¹⁷ wrote poems and treatises of an uncompromising astrological character, and Daniel Morlay brought back to England from Spain the astrology of his Arabian teachers. The work of translating the Arabian astrologers went on apace, and in the writings of such Latins of the thirteenth century as Michael Scot, Alexander Neckam, Bartholomew of England, Robert Grosseteste, and the author of the *Summa* ascribed to him, Vincent of Beauvais, Ramon Lul, Guido Bonati, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Peter of Abano, and Arnald of Villanova, we find Bacon's opinions again in part or *in toto*.¹⁸ With his views on astrological images and his attribution of religious sects to conjunctions of the planets theologians like Aquinas and William of Auvergne would refuse to agree, but Arabian astrology supported such doctrines, and the views of an approved Christian thinker like Albertus Magnus concerning astrology are almost identical with those of Bacon.

There is therefore almost no ground for attributing the reported condemnation of Roger in 1278 to his astrology, nor for assigning the authorship of the *Speculum Astronomiae* to him rather than to Albertus.¹⁹ Such attribution has arisen from misapprehensions as to the views of Bacon's contemporaries and from misstatements such as the passage in Charles's life of Bacon,²⁰ where he declares that Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly in his treatise on laws and sects condemns the doctrine of an English doctor concerning religions and the conjunctions of planets, and approves the contrary doctrine of William of Auvergne, but "does not dare" to name Bacon, to whom he alludes with the bated breath of terror and repugnance. All this is sheer fancy on Charles's part. Had he consulted a complete fifteenth-century edition of d'Ailly's writings instead of merely such of his

twelfth centuries, Thorndike, "A Roman Astrologer as a Historical Source", *Classical Philology*, October, 1913. For other Christian astrologers, especially Byzantine ones, see *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Astrologorum* (Brussels, 1898-).

¹⁶ Frankish astrology is discussed in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*; a number of tenth- and eleventh-century MSS. in the British Museum show the prevalence of astrology in England before the Norman conquest.

¹⁷ His *Mathematicus* and *De Mundi Universitate* have been printed in Migne, *Patrologie*, CLXXI., and by Barach and Wrobel (Innsbruck, 1876), respectively, but his *Experimentarius*, a geomancy, is still in manuscript only.

¹⁸ My assertion is based upon first-hand study of the writers named. The *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXIX, 309, gives the impression that one of Lully's treatises is an attack upon astrology, but he accepts most of the essentials of the art.

¹⁹ As has been done by Father Mandonnet, "Roger Bacon et le *Speculum Astronomiae*", *Revue Néo-Scholastique*, 1910.

²⁰ P. 49.

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treatises as were included in an eighteenth-century edition of the works of Gerson, he would have known that elsewhere the cardinal cites Bacon on astrology by name with respect and admiration,²¹ and that the learned reformer even goes so far as to agree boldly and explicitly with Bacon's doctrine that Christ as a son of man was under the stars.²² That Bacon's astrology had not been condemned in 1278 is also indicated soon after his death by Pierre Dubois's approving mention of his discussion of the utility of "mathematics".²³

Jebb's edition of the *Opus Maius* in 1733 ended with the sixth part on "Experimental Science", which thus seemed the climax of the work and helped to give the impression that Bacon put natural science first, and experimental method first in the study of nature. Bridges's edition added the seventh part, on "Moral Philosophy", "a science better than all the preceding", and the text as now extant, after listing various arguments for the superiority of Christianity to other religions, concludes abruptly with an eight-page devout justification and glorification of the mystery of the Eucharist.

It is, however, significant that "experimental science" is the last of the natural sciences discussed by Bacon. As we read his praises of it, we see that he is not so much thinking of an inductive method through regulated and purposive experience and observation to the discovery of truth—although his discussion of the rainbow is an example of this—as he is thinking of applied science which puts to the test of practical utility the results of the "speculative" natural sciences, and is thus not like modern experimentation the source but "the goal of all speculation". "Other sciences know how to discover their first principles through experience, but reach their conclusions by arguments made from the principles so discovered. But if they require a specific and final test of their conclusions, then they ought to avail themselves of the aid of this noble science."²⁴ "Natural philosophy narrates and argues but does not experiment. The student of perspective and the astronomer put many things to the test of experience, but not all nor sufficiently. Hence complete experience is reserved for this science."²⁵ It uses the other sciences to achieve definite practical results; as a navigator orders a car-

²¹ In his *Apologetica Defensio Astronomice Veritatis* he cites "Bacon magnus doctor anglicus in epistola ad Clementem papam"; in his *Alia Secunda Apologetica Defensio eiusdem*, arguing that the superstition of certain astrologers does not invalidate the art, he says, "Et hoc pulere et diffuse probat Bacon in epistola ad papam clementem"; and in his *Elucidarius* he definitely says that it was Bacon whose theory of conjunctions and sects he discussed in the *De Legibus et Sectis*.

²² In the *Apologetica Defensio* and again in the *Vigintiloquium*.

²³ *De Recuperatione Terre Sancte* (ed. Langlois), p. 65.

²⁴ Bridges, II. 172-173; *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 43.

²⁵ Little, *Part of Opus Tertium*, p. 44.

penter to build him a ship or a knight tells a smith to make him a suit of armor, so the *experimenter* uses his knowledge of geometry to construct a burning-glass or outdoes alchemy at its own specialty of gold-making.²⁶ In working out these practical inventions, however, the "experimenter" often happens on new facts and truths of which the speculative sciences have not dreamed, and in this way experimental science "by its own power investigates the secrets of nature".

Moreover, we may fairly credit Bacon with all the signs of experimental method that we can find in his optic, alchemy, astronomy, and astrology, as well as in his separate section on "experimental science". Even so his ideas seem little further developed than were his notions of the mathematical method. He emphasizes experience as a criterion of truth and believes further in purposive experimentation, but makes no definite suggestions of value as to how one is to proceed, and has no conception of the scientific methods of a modern laboratory. Rather is his mind credulously fixed upon the marvels which he expects experimental science to achieve by methods that seem to us fantastic and occult.²⁷

Nor in this is Bacon striking off a new though crude conception of his own; he is presenting a position found in writers before him, and is revealing the merits and defects of an important movement of his time. When, for example, we read in the works of Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, not only many such phrases as "experiences and reasons" or "authorities and experimenters", but also a discussion of opinions concerning comets based on "experiments in natural objects", in which Grosseteste mentions experimenters who "fall into various false opinions about the nature of comets according to their diversified experiments with rays and generated fires" and lenses—when we read this, we realize that Bacon's discussion of the rainbow in this section on "experimental science" is nothing extraordinary. Grosseteste also mentions "experts" who have discovered the magnifying properties of lenses.²⁸ When we read the *De Universo* of William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris, with its numerous citations from books of experiments and books of magic and necromancy and witchcraft,²⁹ or the twelve experiments with a snake's skin translated into Latin by the celebrated John of

²⁶ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 44-45.

²⁷ For a fuller discussion of Bacon's experimental method and a comparison with his contemporaries, see my "Roger Bacon and Experimental Method in the Middle Ages", in the *Philosophical Review*, May, 1914, pp. 271-298.

²⁸ Baur, *Die Philosophischen Werke des Robert Grosseteste* (Münster, 1912), pp. 13, 25, 33, 34, 36, 40, 41, 68, etc.

²⁹ *Gulielmi Alverni Episcopi Parisiensis . . . Opera Omnia* (Venice, 1591), pp. 599, 606, 608, 860, 968, 988, 998-999, 1003, 1010.

Spain,³⁰ or the similar experiments with pulverized snake's skin of Nicholas of Poland,³¹ or the natural experiments that Solomon was supposed to have performed out of love for a certain queen,³² or the *Experimenta Alberti* with their assertion that the science of magic is not necessarily evil³³—when we have read books of this sort, we understand better the marvellous and occult character of Bacon's "experimental science" with its tales of the experiment with a snake performed by a sage at Paris and of the beneficial effect of eating the flesh of good flying dragons.

As Bacon's discussion of mathematics led us to a consideration of his belief in astrology, so his discussion of experimental science leads us to examine his attitude toward magic, since he admits that many persons confuse the two.³⁴ He, however, declares that experimental science detects and avoids the follies and deceptions of magic. His pages are full of condemnatory or contemptuous allusions to magic. He will not admit that magicians employ natural forces nor that their methods of operating are valid. Their apparent feats he either explains away, as we do the stage and parlor magic of to-day, by sleight-of-hand, ventriloquism, mechanical devices, confederates, and other deceptions; or he accounts for them as the work of evil spirits. Thus magicians are either impostors or instruments of the devil. Bacon contends that demons are not coerced by the properties of natural objects, and he does not sanction such an expression as "natural magic". Yet he waxes enthusiastic over "the secret works of art and nature", and he complains that these are often confused with magic, and that contemporary theologians, canonists, and holy men "have condemned many useful and splendid sciences along with magic". Besides astrology and its corollary science of images, he would justify to a certain extent as "philosophical" the employment of occult virtues in natural objects, and of characters, incantations, the human voice, and the rational soul, in order to produce marvellous changes in things and persons. He asserts that experimenters and philosophers can by these methods work far greater wonders than the magicians ever perform.

Thus Bacon fails in his attempt to draw the line between science and magic. His science still includes many occult and magical ele-

³⁰ At the British Museum, Arundel MSS., 251, fol. 35v; Sloane MSS., 1754, fol. 30. At Erfurt, Amplon. Folio 276, fol. 69: "Tractatus Alani de xii experimentis corio factis ex Arabico in Latinum a Iohanne Paulino translatus."

³¹ Sloane MSS., 1754, fol. 28r; Amplon. Folio 276, fol. 66.

³² Sloane MSS., 121, fol. 90v.

³³ Sloane MSS., 342, fol. 130r; *ibid.*, 351, fol. 25r; Arundel MSS., 251, fol. 25r; Royal 12 B xxv, fol. 248r; and in many other manuscripts.

³⁴ I have already treated of Bacon's attitude toward magic in pages 134-138 of "Some Medieval Conceptions of Magic" in the *Monist*, XXV, 107-139 (January, 1915), where citations will be found for the passages used.

ments of whose true character he is not aware, while he admits that the magicians often try to or pretend to use scientific books and methods, and that it is no easy matter to tell which books and characters and images are which. The experimental scientist not only exposes the frauds of magic but discovers secrets of nature hidden beneath the husk of magical ceremony and pretense. Also some men employ the marvels of philosophy for wicked ends and so pervert it into a sort of magic. Finally in one passage he forgets himself and speaks of "those magnificent sciences" which properly employ "images, characters, charms, prayers, and deprecations" as "magical sciences".³⁵

Bacon's doctrine of the multiplication of species is a good illustration of the combination of magic and science which we encounter in his works. This theory has been praised by his admirers as the propagation of force subject to mathematical law; and he has been commended for describing the species which every agent causes in all directions not, like the idols of Lucretius, as material films which peel off from the agent and impress themselves on surrounding matter, but as successive effects produced in that matter. Bacon usually illustrates his theory by the radiation of light from the sun, and by a discussion of the geometrical laws of reflection and refraction; thus his theory seems at first sight a physical one. He believed, however, that the occult influences of the planets upon nature and man were exercised in the same way, and also such mysterious powers as those of the evil eye and of fascination. Indeed, he asserts that this multiplication of virtues is universal, and that spiritual beings as well as corporeal objects affect in this manner everything about them and may themselves be so affected by other objects and beings.³⁶ Viewed from this angle, his theory seems a magical one of occult influence, though given a scientific guise by its assumption that such forces proceed along mathematical lines after the analogy of rays of light. This suggests that it is not fair merely to call Bacon's science superstitious; we must also note that he tries to make his magic scientific.

It seems somewhat strange that Bacon should fight so shy of

³⁵ Little, *Part of the Opus Tertium*, pp. 17-18: "Et ideo si ecclesia de studio ordinaret, possent homines boni et sancti laborare in hujusmodi scientiis magicis auctoritate summi pontificis speciali."

³⁶ Bridges, I, 111: "Omne enim efficiens agit per suam virtutem quam facit in materiam subjectam, ut lux solis facit suam virtutem in aere, quae est lumen diffusum per totum mundum a luce solari. Et haec virtus vocatur similitudo, et imago, et species, et multis nominibus, et hanc facit tam substantia quam accidens, et tam spiritualis quam corporalis. Et substantia plus quam accidens, et spiritualis plus quam corporalis. Et haec species facit omnem operationem hujus mundi; nam operatur in sensum, in intellectum, et in totam mundi materiam pro rerum generatione."

the word "magic", when his predecessor, William of Auvergne, and his contemporary, Albertus Magnus, both allude to magic as sometimes bordering upon science, in which case they do not regard it unfavorably. Yet William, as we have noted, was less favorable to astrology than Roger. The good Bishop of Paris, who certainly shows himself well versed both in magical literature, black and white, and in popular superstitious practices, condemns much of such lore and custom as tantamount to idolatry or worship of demons; he refuses to believe in some of the marvels which magic claims to work, and denies the powers ascribed to incantations, characters, and images, though he is less sure as to words or the occult influence of the soul. But he asserts that one of the eleven subdivisions of science is "natural magic", by which marvels are performed naturally which the ignorant crowd takes for the work of demons, but which usually are inoffensive.⁸⁷ He also frequently refers to "sense of nature", a sort of occult power such as the ability to sense a threatening but hidden danger; this is "one of the roots of natural magic".⁸⁸ William indeed displays a more detailed knowledge of magic than Bacon does. In his theological works Albert sometimes condemns magic, yet even there attributes its marvels in large measure to natural forces and to the influences of the stars. In his scientific writings he occasionally alludes to "magic" without censure, speaking of "alchemy and magic", of "astronomy and magic and the necromantic sciences", and of "magical sciences". He classifies as magic several of Bacon's "secret works of art and nature", though, like Bacon, he appears to regard them with approval.⁸⁹ For these reasons I can as little believe that Bacon was condemned in 1278 for magic as that he was condemned for astrology, especially since he apparently did not dabble in the invocation of demons.

On the other hand, it is apparent that in his inclusion of magical factors in natural science he is an exponent of what we may call the school of natural magic and experiment. If we turn from writers whose works have been printed, like Albert and William, to old collections of manuscripts like that of Amplonius at Erfurt and of Sir Hans Sloane in the British Museum, we become the more convinced that occult and natural science, magic and experiment were closely associated in Bacon's time. "Experimental books"

⁸⁷ *De Legibus*, caps. 14 and 24; *De Universo*, I. i. 43, 46, and II. iii. 21, 22, 23; in *Opera Omnia* (Venice, 1591), pp. 44, 67, 612, 627, 997, 999, 1003.

⁸⁸ *De Legibus*, cap. 27 (*Opera*, p. 88). See Bridges, II. 421, where Bacon possibly copies William in speaking of the mysterious sense by which the sheep apprehends and shuns the species of the wolf.

⁸⁹ For Albert's attitude to magic in more detail see "Some Medieval Conceptions of Magic", the *Monist*, XXV. 115-120.

are full of magic and magicians repeatedly perform experiments. Down through the seventeenth century the word "experiment" continues to be associated with feats of magic, and earlier it is applied freely to books of divination and astrology. In medieval collections of recipes and experiments we find bizarre magic mixed in with directions for blowing soap-bubbles, true chemical processes, and new discoveries such as alcohol. Alchemy was becoming more practical and scientific, less given to mystic language and fantastic rigmarole than among the Greeks and Arabs. Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas are said to have reconciled Aristotle with Christian theology; Roger Bacon desired that the Church should similarly adopt the alchemy and "experimental science", the "natural magic" and inventions of the age.

Most medieval books impress one as literary mosaics where the method of arrangement may be new but most of the fragments are familiar. One soon recognizes, however, that striking similarity in two passages is no sure sign that one is copied from the other. The authors may have used the same Arabian sources or simply be repeating some commonplace thought of the times. Men began with the same assumptions and general notions, read the same limited library, reasoned by common methods, and naturally often reached the same conclusions, especially since the field of knowledge was not yet so extensive but that one man might try to cover it all, and since all used the same medium of thought, the Latin language. New discoveries were being made occasionally but slowly, perhaps also sporadically and empirically. A collection of industrial and chemical recipes in the thirteenth century may in the main be derived from a set of the seventh century or Hellenistic age, but a few new ones have somehow got added to the list in the interim. Thomas of Cantimpré's encyclopaedia professes to be no more than a compilation, but it seems to contain the first allusion we have to modern plumbing.⁴⁰

Bacon's chief book was a mosaic like the rest, but bears a strong impress of his personality. Sometimes there is too much personality, but if we allow for this, we find it a valuable, though not a complete nor perfect, picture of medieval learning. Its ideas were not brand-new; it was not centuries in advance of its age; but while its contents may be found scattered in many other places, they will scarcely be found altogether anywhere else, for it combines the

⁴⁰ British Museum, Egerton MSS., 1984, fol. 141v: "*Stagnum . . . in aqua diu jacens de facili computrescit. Unde fistule aqueductus que subterranea fieri solebant ex plumbo et consolidari ex stagno, modernis temporibus ex calido fusili plumbo consolidare ars hominum excogitavit, eo quod soliditate stagno durare non poterant in longinquum, plumbum enim sub terra semper durat.*"

most diverse features. In the first place it is a "pious" production, if I may employ that adjective in a somewhat objectionable colloquial sense to indicate roughly a combination of religious, theological, and moral points of view. In other words, Bacon continues the Christian attitude of patristic literature to a certain extent; and his book is written by a clergyman for clergymen, and in order to promote the welfare of the Church and Christianity. There is no denying that, hail him as one may as a herald of modern science. Secondly, he is frequently scholastic and metaphysical; yet thirdly, is critical in numerous respects; and fourthly, insists on practical utility as a standard by which science and philosophy must be judged. Finally, he is an exponent of the aims and methods of what we have called "the natural magic and experimental school", and as such he sometimes comes near to being scientific. So there is no other book like the *Opus Maius* in the Middle Ages, nor has there been one like it since; yet it is true to its age⁴¹ and is still readable to-day. It will therefore always remain one of the most remarkable books of the remarkable thirteenth century.

LYNN THORNDIKE.

⁴¹ That is to say, in a large sense.

THE POLITICAL THEORIES OF CALVINISTS BEFORE THE PURITAN EXODUS TO AMERICA

"IN our account of these sons of Geneva, we will begin with the father of the faithful; faithful, I mean, to their old antimonarchical doctrines and assertions; and that is, the great mufti of Geneva, who in the fourth book of his *Institutions*, chapter 20, section 31, has the face to own such doctrine to the world as this."¹ In such wise, a royalist sermon of 1663 introduced the famous section from Calvin's *Institutes* containing the germ of the Calvinistic theory of constitutional resistance to tyranny through the people's representatives. In the Elizabethan English of Norton's translation, familiar to English, Scottish, and American readers from the Reformation to the American Revolution, Calvin's pregnant sentences ran thus:

Though the correcting of unbridled government be the revenge of the Lord, let us not by and by think that it is committed to us, to whom there is given no other commandment but to obey and suffer. I speake alway of private men. For if there be at this time any magistrates for the behalfe of the people, (such as in olde time were the Ephori, that were set against the Kinges of Lacedemonia, or the Tribunes of the people, against the Romane Consuls: or the Demarchy, against the Senate of Athenes: and the same power also which peradventure as things are nowe the three estates have in everie realme when they hold their principall assemblies) I doe so not forbid them according to their office to withstande the outraging licentiousness of kinges: that I affirme that if they winke at kinges wilfully raging over and treading downe the poor communaltie, their dissembling is not without wicked breache of faith, because they deceitfully betray the libertie of the people, whereof they know themselves to bee appointed protectors by the ordinance of God.²

Calvin's *Institutes*, containing this theory of constitutional resistance through representative magistrates, remained for centuries a standard book among Protestants. Probably no other theological work was so widely read and so influential from the Reformation to the American Revolution. At least seventy-four editions in nine languages, besides fourteen abridgments, appeared before the Puritan exodus to America, an average of one edition annually for three generations.³ Huguenots, Scots, Dutchmen, Walloons, Palatines,

¹ Robert South, *Sermons* (1856 ed.), I. 470 ff., quoting or misquoting Calvin. Beza, Knox, Buchanan, Pareus.

² *Calvini Opera* (ed. Baum, Cunitz, Reuss), I. 247-248; *Institutes*, IV. xx, 31.

³ *Calvini Opera*, LIX. 461-512; *British Museum Catalogue*; *Stationers' Registers*.

and other Germans, and an overwhelming majority of the American colonists of the seventeenth century were bred on its strong political theories as well as on the strong meat of its theology. In England the *Institutes* was considered "the best and perfectest system of divinity" by both Anglican and Puritan, until Laud's supremacy.⁴ In 1578 (with Calvin's Catechism) it was required of Oxford undergraduates. Curious witness to its grip upon men was borne by Laud in 1636. Admitting that the *Institutes* "may profitably be read as one of their first books of divinity", Laud secretly endeavored to dissuade New College students from reading it "so soon". "I am afraid it . . . doth too much possess their judgments . . . and-makes many of them humorous in, if not against the church."⁵

In Scotland the passage quoted from Calvin's *Institutes* was cited in defense of Mary's deposition, by Knox and the commissioners to Elizabeth. In England not only Cartwright and the other authors of the *Admonition to Parliament* but also their opponent Whitgift and even the Anglican Elborow as late as 1636 utilized the authority of the *Institutes*. Quoted by widely read New England Puritans, like Governor Bradford, Cotton, Hooker, Roger Williams, Jonathan Edwards, and by Puritan preachers before Parliament during the Civil War, and controverted by Royalists later in the century, it continued to be spread in the eighteenth century through numerous citations in the popular Bayly's *Practice of Piety*, which went through fifty-nine editions in seven languages by 1759. Men of a somewhat different sort were probably influenced, directly or indirectly, through the citations by a remarkable list of men widely read and quoted in Europe and America—"the judicious Hooker", Milton, Harrington, Sidney, Locke, and Rousseau. The demand for the *Institutes* in English translation is suggested by the nine editions before the Civil War (and apparently about ten between 1763 and 1863, six of these being American editions); and further by its appearance in the London *Catalogue of Approved Divinity Books*, 1655, 1657, and the *Catalogue of Most Vendible Books in England*, 1657, 1658.⁶

⁴ Bishop Sanderson (Charles I.'s chaplain), *Works*, I. 297.

⁵ Wood, *Annals*, I. 193; Laud, *Remains*, II. 82.

⁶ In days when books were few and usually read if bought, familiarity with the *Institutes* is suggested by its presence in scores of libraries including those of Mirabeau, the archbishops of Canterbury, English universities and colleges, three Anglican colonial foundations, five Lancashire churches, the most influential Puritan divines English and American, three colonial colleges and three college presidents, governors, men of affairs, signers of the Declaration of Independence, members of national and state constitutional conventions, physicians, college students, farmers, and dozens of kinds of artisans and tradesmen, including innkeepers, excisemen, and tobacconists. See printed book-lists (sometimes incomplete) of the following colonial owners of *Institutes*: Reverend John Goodborne (Virginia); Brewster, Winthrop, Harvard, Samuel Lee, Rowland Cotton, Prince,

Of some work of Calvin at least 435 editions appeared before the founding of New England, an average of one every ten weeks. Most colonial libraries seem to contain some work by Calvin and scarcely a colonial list of books from New Hampshire to South Carolina appears to lack books written by Calvinists.⁷

Calvin's teaching of constitutional resistance to tyranny logically followed his fundamental premises of the absolute sovereignty of God and the "Word of God"; for that absolute authority limited all "earthly princes" and made both king and representative magistrate "responsible to God and men". Calvin moreover pictured that "singular and truly sovereign power of God" not as "idly beholding from Heaven", "but as holding the helm of the universe".⁸

Calvin's teaching of the "breach of faith" by the representative magistrates, if they "betray the libertie of the people, whereof they knowe themselves to bee appointed protectors by the ordinance of God", was within a year followed by the enforcement in Geneva of another fundamental tenet of Calvinists—a covenant. The Genevan Confession of 1537, submitted by Calvin and Farel, was a religious rather than a political covenant. But a civil ordinance commanded under pain of exile "all burghers, inhabitants and subjects to swear to guard and observe" this creed-covenant, which included the ten commandments, and emphasized morals more than theology. This creed-covenant was moreover defended by Calvin on the basis of the covenants made by the Israelites under Moses, Josiah, Asa, and "the admirable defenders of liberty, Ezra and Nehemiah", examples constantly cited by Calvinists in their political covenants for a century to come.⁹

After seven years' experience in Switzerland and Germany Calvin advocated as the best form of government "either aristocracy or a mixture of aristocracy and democracy" such as "the Lord

King's Chapel (Massachusetts); President Langdon of Harvard, Nathaniel Rogers (both Portsmouth, N. H.); Rensselaerswyck, Widow Bronck (New Netherland); Harvard, Yale, Princeton; Redwood (Newport); Logan (Philadelphia); Edenton (North Carolina). Manuscript lists: Dr. James Walker (Baltimore); Presidents Wheelock (Dartmouth), Witherspoon (Princeton). Identified by autograph: John Fiske, John Sewall, Samuel Sewall, Thomas Ward, Thomas Wallcutt, Jonathan Heskens, Benjamin Gillam, Ezra Thompson (Harvard, 1755). John Ledyard (Dartmouth) quoted Calvin against Wheelock. There is a significant list of 73 occupations of subscribers to the Glasgow edition of *Institutes* (1762). The section quoted is frequently underlined or annotated, the copy in the Archbishop of Canterbury's library having five significant annotations.

⁷ Of 52 lists examined, covering all colonies save Delaware and Georgia and including Anglican collections, only one lacks books by Calvinists—Sir Kenelm Digby's gift to Harvard, and Digby was not a colonist.

⁸ *Institutes*, IV. xx. 32; I. xvi. 4, 7; xviii. 1; III. x. 6; I. xviii. 4; *Comm. Romans*, xiii. 4.

⁹ *Opera*, V. 319 ff.; XXI. 206 ff.

established among the people of Israel".¹⁰ Sixteen more years' observation of the "imperfections of men" led the ripened statesman to advocate constitutional government (*politia*) "in the hands of many . . . so that if any one arrogate to himself more than is right, the many may act as censors and masters to restrain his ambition".¹¹ This "mixture of aristocracy and democracy" was the form of government in most Calvinistic industrial communities and self-governing commonwealths. Such representative government was regularly exemplified in their churches and logically advocated for the state. A striking example illustrates this chain of religious-political Calvinistic influence. Thomas Cartwright during his exile taught theology in Geneva and before leaving obtained permission to attend the consistory in order to report to England upon the Genevan representative church government. Immediately on his return to England he advocated in his *Admonition to Parliament* a like system of representative government in the Church, and then maintained that the State should follow the Church's model. Cartwright's reasoning, often quoted approvingly by Hooker of Connecticut to Cotton of Massachusetts, was requoted by Cotton to Say and Sele in England.

Calvin himself, toward the end of his career, advocated in theory and practice representative government "by common consent" in both Church and State as the "best condition by far"; "and even when men become kings by hereditary right this does not seem consistent with liberty".¹²

Before his death Calvin had combined the theory of constitutional resistance through divinely ordained representatives with two other Calvinistic theories, that of a compact and that of a fundamental written law.

Inasmuch as kings and princes pledge their faith to the people by an oath, it is fair to ask, if they break faith, whether the people may not themselves consult together and apply a fit remedy. The question is certainly difficult and it would not be convenient or expedient to discuss it now; for we see many seeking opportunity for innovations and allowing too great changes. Subjects themselves may not rebel against even tyrannical rulers. . . . Nevertheless, certain remedies against tyranny are allowable, for example when magistrates and estates have been constituted, to whom has been committed the care of the commonwealth:

¹⁰ *Institutes* (1543), xx. 7; *Opera*, I. 1105.

¹¹ *Institutes* (definitive edition, 1559), IV. xx. 8; *Opera*, II. 1098; IV. 1134. Henry VIII, Mary, and the German princes exemplify tyranny necessitating restraint. *Comm. Hosea*, i; *Amos*, vii. 13, where Calvin is cited by Pareus, in turn followed by Knight.

¹² *Comm. Micah*, v. 5; *Opera*, XLIII. 374. Recommendations to Genevan Council, *Opera*, X. 120, note; Foster, "Calvin's Programme for a Puritan State in Geneva", *Harvard Theological Review*, I. 423-424 (1908).

they shall have power to keep the prince to his duty and even to coerce him if he attempt anything unlawful.¹³

Samuel's "reading to the people and recording in a book" "the law of the kingdom", in order to show "the mutual obligation of head and members", Calvin recommends as an example; "for every commonwealth rests upon laws and agreements . . . by which as by a bridle each is held to his calling". He advocates written statutes that "recourse may be had to the written law".¹⁴ The *lex scripta* he describes as "nothing but an attestation of the *lex naturae*, whereby God brings back to memory what has already been imprinted on our hearts".¹⁵

From Calvin's premises of the supreme authority of God and his Word, we find him then developing these permanent contributions to political theory and practice. The absolute supremacy of God and of his Word ("obey God rather than man") demands not passive but active resistance. This resistance is not the privilege of private individuals but the obligation of divinely ordained representatives "responsible to God and the people", such as councillors, estates, or parliaments. Such resistance is constitutional, rational, and orderly because based on and tested by three things greatly emphasized by Calvin and his disciples: (1) a written religious document, "the open Word of God", to be interpreted with "equity and reason"; (2) a political covenant or compact, preferably written, for example a coronation oath; (3) some form of fundamental law, *lex naturae*, *principes d'équité*, or *quelque semence de droiture*.

Calvin's followers, usually accustomed to some form of representative government—local or national—and to written charters, and trained still further by their representative system of church discipline and government, exhibited the Calvinistic spirit of "going forward [*cheminer*] each according to his station and employing faithfully for the maintenance of the republic whatever God has given them".¹⁶ They therefore developed his theories, further combined them on the basis of growing experience, incorporated them into public law, and proved them practicable. In the Biblical commonwealth of Geneva, citizen and refugee were profoundly convinced of the righteousness of the Calvinistic theories. When a domineering military officer, opponent of Calvin's policy, attempted to wrest from a Genevan syndic his staff of office, the magistrate

¹³ *Homilia I Sam.*, viii; *Opera*, XXIX. 552, 557.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, ch. x., pp. 636-637; Sidney, *Government*, ch. iii., sect. I, discusses the same passage. Cf. *Institutes*, IV. xx. 29.

¹⁵ *Comm. Psalms*, cxix. 52; *Opera*, XXXII. 236. Cf. *Opera*, XXVII. 568; XXVI. 674; XXXIV. 504; XXVIII. 63.

¹⁶ Calvin's farewell to Genevan magistrates, *Opera*, IX. 889-890.

replied: "This staff has been given me not by you but by God and the people, to whom I shall return it and not to you."¹⁷ The little republic of Geneva, bred upon Calvin's *Institutes*, catechism, and consistory, itself was a striking and influential exemplification of the successful embodiment of Calvin's political theories into what we may venture to call the first Puritan state. "Let not Geneva be forgotten or despised. Religious liberty owes it much respect, Servetus notwithstanding", wrote the second President of the United States.¹⁸

In 1556 Ponet, exiled bishop of Winchester, a Calvinist, and apparently a member of the English congregation at Geneva, published his *Politike Power*, which John Adams declared contained "all the essential principles of liberty which were afterwards dilated on by Sidney and Locke".¹⁹ "God is the power of powers. All other powers are but his ministers." "Men ought not to obeie their superiours that shall comaunde them to doo anything against Goddes Word, or the lawes of nature", "Goddes lawes, by which name also the lawes of nature be comprehended". "Kings may not make laws without consent of people", nor "dispense with them". "As among the Lacedemonians certain men called Ephori were ordayned to see that the kinges should not oppresse the people, and among the Romaynes the Tribunes were ordayned to defende and mayntene the libertie of the people . . . so in all Christian realmes and dominiones God ordayned meanes, that the heads . . . should not oppresse the poore people . . . and make their willes their lawes . . . in Fraunce and Englande parliamentes"; the paragraph closely follows Calvin's *Institutes*. "Kings, though they be the chief membres, yet they are but membres, nother are the people ordained for them, but they are ordained for the people", phrases which passed as coin of the realm among Calvinists of two continents and three centuries. Ponet goes further than Calvin. He maintains that "princes abusing their office may be deposed by the body of the whole congregacion or commonwealthe". He even permits tyrannicide, "wher just punishment is either by the hole state utterly neglected, or the prince with the nobilitie and counsall conspire its subversion", provided "any private man have some surely proved mocion of God".²⁰

¹⁷ Bonivard, *Advis* (ed. 1865), p. 139.

¹⁸ John Adams, marginal note in his "Discourses on Davila", *Works*, VI. 313. *The Lawes and Statutes of Geneva*, translated from original documents, went through three editions at significant epochs, 1562, 1643, 1659. The number of famous men who studied in Geneva, the important books published there, and the friendly and hostile citations of Geneva's example are almost innumerable.

¹⁹ Adams, *Works*, VI. 4.

²⁰ *Shorte Treatise of Politike Power* (eds. of 1556 and 1642 in the Library of Congress), chs. iv., ii., i., vi.

In 1558 three pastors and one elder of "the Englishe Church and Congregation at Geneva" (three at least being translators of the Genevan version of the Bible) printed there eight political addresses to England and Scotland. Christopher Goodman's *How Superior Powers ought to be obeyed and wherein they may lawfully by God's Worde be disobeyed and resisted* (which Calvin pronounced "somewhat harsh" and to "be handled with caution", yet "admitted to be true")²¹ advocates resistance on the basis of the supremacy of God's laws, responsibility of representatives, and a mutual covenant. "You promised obedience to your Superiors, that they might helpe you", "to defend God's Lawes". "If they will do so, and keep promise with you accordinge to their office, then do you owe unto them all humble obedience: If not, you are discharged, and no obedience belongeth to them: because they are not obedient to God."²² This passage Milton quotes in his *Tenure of Kings*. Goodman, like Ponet and Melville, asserts that the people were not "created of God to serve their kinges", but "their kinges appoynted of God to preserve his people, whereof they are but a portion and a member".²³ Like Ponet, Goodman takes a step beyond Calvin in maintaining that "it apperteyneth not onely to the Magistrates and al other inferior officers to see that their Princes be subject to Gods Lawes, but to the common people also".²⁴

John Knox's letter of 1558 "To the Commonalty of Scotland" likewise desired not only the "Estates and Nobilitie" but also "the Communalitie, my Brethren", to "compell your Byshoppes and Clergie to cease their tyrannie and answer by the scriptures of God".²⁵ From Calvinistic premises, including Asa's covenant, Knox draws two Calvinistic conclusions: "the first, That no idolatour can be exempted from punishment by Goddes Law. The seconde is, That the punishment of such crimes, as are idolatrie, blasphemie, and others, that tuche the Majestie of God, dothe not appertaine to kinges and chefe rulers only, but also to the whole bodie of that people, and to every membre of the same, according to the vocation of everie man, and according to that possibilitie and occasion which God doth minister to revenge the injury done his glorie."²⁶ "Moste justely may the same men depose and punishe him that unadvisedly before they did electe."²⁷

²¹ Goodman to Martyr, *Original Letters, 1537-1558* (Parker Soc.), II. 771.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 189.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

²⁵ *Works* (ed. Laing), IV. 524.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 501, *Appellation*, italics added.

²⁷ P. 540, *Second Blast*. Milton's *Tenure of Kings* cites Knox's *Appellation*, *Second Blast*, and three other pamphlets published in the same year by Calvin's and Knox's colleagues, Goodman, Gilby, and Whittingham.

Within a year, armed with the "judgementis of Mr. Calvin" and the leirnit in uther Kirkis", Knox headed a successful application of his Calvinistic "Blasts" from Geneva. In urging the deposition of the Queen Regent, "The Bretherin of the Christiane Congregation" of Scotland affirm, that "to brydill the fury and raige of Princeis in free kingdomes and realmeis . . . appertenis to the Nobilitie, sworne and borne Counsallouris of the same, and allsua to the Barronis and Pepill, quhais voteis . . . ar to be requyreit in all greit and wechty materis of the communweill".²⁸

The Regent's deposition is the earliest and most striking example of an application of the Calvinistic theory of constitutional resistance. The responsible representatives justified themselves by God's "moist sacrat worde", the "judgement of the Preachearis" (Knox and Willok), the "lawis of the realme", their own "oath", the covenant involved in the "contentis of the Appointment of Marriage", and the Regent's attempts "to suppress the liberties of our comoun-weall".²⁹

In a "reassonyng betwix the Quene and Johne Knox", four years later, he declared Her Majesty and her subjects bound "by *mutuall contract*. Thei are bound to obey you, and that not but in God. Ye ar bound to keape lawis unto thame."³⁰ In the famous debate before the General Assembly the following year, Knox, basing his argument upon the scriptural examples utilized by Calvinists, "maintained" (as Milton quotes him in his *Tenure of Kings*) "that subjectis might and ought to execute God's judgment upon their king". The "vote and consience" of Craig, Knox's fellow-minister, was "that Princes ar nocht onlie bound to keip lawis and promeisses to thair subjectis, but also, that in caise thai faill, thay justlie may be deposeit; *for the band betwix the Prince and the Peopill is reciproce*".³¹ The phrases italicized are combined in the General Assembly's resolution three years later, requiring kings to promise to defend "the true religioun . . . as they are obliged . . . in the law of God . . . in the ellevint cheptoure of the seccund buke of the Kinges, and as thei craif obedience of thair subjectis sua the *band and contract to be mutuale and reciproque* in all tymes cuming betuix the prince and God and his faithful people according to the word of God".

Parliament in 1567 enacted as law the religious assembly's resolution; justified the enforced "demişsion" of Queen Mary; "author-

²⁸ Knox, *History of the Reformation in Scotland, Works*, I, 411.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 424, 432, 442-443, 448, 450.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 372.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 434-461, especially 458. Craig's views are quoted in Milton, *Tenure of Kings*, sect. 35.

isit" the Confession of Faith "as a doctrine groundit upon the infallible word of God"; and "annullit al actis not agreeing with Godis word, and now contrare to the Confession of faith according to the said worde". Within nine years Knox's application of the Calvinistic theories of the sovereignty of God and his word, the duty of constitutional resistance through a representative body, justified by mutual contract and fundamental law, had been incorporated into public law in Scotland.³²

Evidence of Calvinistic and Genevan influence upon Scotland is found in the *Acts of Parliament and Assembly*, the Confession of Faith, the Genevan order of worship, and the "Buke of Discipline"'s system of church government by representative laymen. It is also testified to directly. The assembly desired the judgment of Calvin upon resistance to rulers. Knox affirmed that he had "heard the judgementis" and "come nocht to this Realme without".³³ "A written defence of the Scotch presented to Queen Elizabeth", quoted by von Raumer, mentions the approval of Calvin and Melancthon.³⁴

Through the marginal notes of four Calvinistic versions of the Bible, teachings of covenant obligation to constitutional resistance passed into the political thought of two continents. The Genevan version, "the common Bible of the people and even of scholars" for three-quarters of a century, went through over one hundred editions before 1617. On this "Breeches Bible" were bred Shakespeare and the founders of the American colonies and the English Commonwealth.³⁵ Scores of marginal notes on covenant, vocation, rights of the "congregation", deposition of kings, the supremacy of God's Word, and the duty of orderly resistance to tyranny, appear in the Genevan version, Junius and Tremellius's *Biblia Sacra*, Beza's Latin text of the New Testament (in its eighty-eight editions before 1640, common property in Continental, English, and colonial libraries), and in the *Annotations* by the Westminster Assembly of Divines. Such widespread sanction for Calvinistic political theories through the Bibles in the homes of scholar and common man enormously enhanced the appeal of Calvinistic writers and preachers in France, Holland, the Palatinate, Scotland, England, and America.

The Calvinistic theory and practice of constitutional resistance

³² *Acts of the General Assembly* (Bannatyne Club ed.), I. 109; *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, III. 11-12, 14, 23-24, 39.

³³ *Works*, II. 459-461.

³⁴ *Contributions to Modern History, from British Museum and State Paper Office, Elizabeth and Mary*, p. 152. Throckmorton to Elizabeth (*Cal. State Papers, Scotland*, 1547-1603, II. 355) mentioned the influence of Knox, Craig, Scripture, the laws of the realm, and the coronation oath.

³⁵ Westcott, *History of the English Bible*, p. 140; Cotton, *Editions of the Bible*; Carter, *Shakespeare and Holy Scripture*, whose conclusions Lee accepts.

to tyranny, especially as exemplified in Scotland, was formulated in the *History of Scotland*, and in the *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* (1579) by Buchanan, a Calvinistic scholar in politics, who was moderator of the General Assembly which demanded Mary's "demission" and a "mutual and reciprocal contract" between prince and people, and who also aided in the indictment of Mary before Elizabeth.

Buchanan, like Ponet, considers the moral law of Scripture "an explanation" of the "law of nature", and the Golden Rule "a kind of abridgment of this law". People have a right of choosing whom they will as kings and are paramount to them. "Law paramount to the kings" "should be made by representatives". In a passage like Calvin's, arguing from the power of "the tribunes of the people at Rome or the Ephori at Sparta", Buchanan asks, "why should any man think it iniquitous, in a free people, to adopt in a similar, or even a different manner, prospective remedies for checking the enormities of tyranny"? He "upholds the social compact",³⁶ "A mutual compact subsists between a king and his subjects"; and he who "acts in opposition to compacts dissolves them" and "forfeits whatever rights belonged by agreement to him".³⁷

Within a year after the "Bretherin of the Christiane Congregation", on the advice of the preachers, had urged the councillors and estates of Scotland to "brydill" the queen mother, a Calvinistic Huguenot national synod of 1560 presented a similar memorial to the Estates of France. On the ground that "there will otherwise be no Security for the performance of any Contracts and Ordinances that may pass between the King and his subjects", the Estates were asked to declare that under a queen mother and a minor king "none other but the States of the Kingdom can nominate . . . Counsellors of State", and that, until so constituted, the Estates would "not propose or answer anything", but would "appeal unto the next Assembly of the States".³⁸

The Huguenot churches, organized in 1559, rapidly developed a local and national representative system through local consistory, district colloquy, provincial assembly, and national synod. The synods especially developed marvellous efficiency, and eventually assumed nearly all the distinctive functions of a state—financial, mili-

³⁶ *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, pp. 94; 99, 177, 118; 158, 184; 176; 188.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 196. Cf. *Rerum Scot. Hist.*, xx. 37. In America, Knox's *History* appears in at least seven colonial libraries, being listed as "frequentiorem in usum" in a Harvard catalogue of 1773. Buchanan's books have been found in fifteen: Harvard (1723, 1790), Prince, John Adams, Yale, Redwood, Providence, New York Society Library, Logan, Library Company of Philadelphia, Princeton, Witherspoon, Dr. Walker, Nathaniel Taylor, Byrd, and Charleston.

³⁸ Quick, *Synodicon . . . or Acts of Reformed Churches of France*, I. 12-13.

tary, administrative, legislative—and were sometimes called États Généraux". In 1594 the Huguenots closely followed their ecclesiastical model in the organization of their political national assembly based upon provincial assemblies and colloquies.³⁹

They have begun to spread among the populace the idea that the King has his authority from the people, and that the subject is not obliged to obey the Prince when he commands anything which is not to be found in the New Testament. And they are on the highroad to reduce that province to the condition of a democratic state like Switzerland,

wrote the Venetian Suriano.⁴⁰

In 1573 two Huguenot exiles in Geneva, Hotman and Beza, talked over the situation after St. Bartholomew, and produced two books advocating more radical theories than Calvin's. The *Franco-Gallia* of Hotman, for eleven years teacher or professor of law in Geneva, "distinctly proves" (asserted Sidney), on historical and legal grounds, that in France "the people (that is the assembly of the estates) had entire power both of electing and deposing their kings".⁴¹

"This great liberty of holding general assemblies for counsel is a part of the law of nations [*droit des gens*]." Kings who "suppress this holy and sacred liberty should no longer be considered kings but tyrants".⁴² As precedents for controlling kings, Hotman repeatedly cites the ephors, and, like Calvin, Knox, Buchanan, and Beza, combines the ideas of representative responsibility and mutual covenant.⁴³ As a striking instance of the latter he cites, as did Beza and Mornay, the oath of the kings of Aragon.⁴⁴ "The king and his kingdom are necessarily bound up with each other, by a mutual respect and reciprocal obligation." "As the tutor is ordained for the pupil", "so the people is not created and made subject for the sake of the king, but rather the king is established for the sake of the people." "For the people can well exist without a king; but one could not find or even imagine a king who could subsist without people." Beza and Sidney, an admirer of Hotman,

³⁹ Records of synods in Quick. Assembly 1594, in Anquez, *Hist. Ass. Polit. Réf. de France*, pp. 62-66 (cf. pp. ix, x, 445); Corbière, *De l'Organisation Politique du Parti Protestant*; and Doumergue, *L'Origine de la Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme*, pp. 26-27.

⁴⁰ Whitehead, *Coligny*, p. 302.

⁴¹ *France-Gaule*, ch. x., p. 422ro, in [Goulart], *Mémoires de l'Estat de France sous Charles Neufiesme* (1578), II. 375-482. Molesworth's translation (1711) abbreviates and omits. Sidney, *Government*, ch. ii., sect. xxx.

⁴² Hotman, pp. 428vo-429.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 455vo, 427vo, 468vo.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 428vo; Beza, *Droit des Magistrats sur leurs Sujets* (in *Mémoires de France sous Charles IX.*, II. 483vo-522ro), p. 504; Stephen, *State Trials*, I. 108 ff.; Ezra Stiles, *Election Sermon* (ed. 1785), p. 90.

both draw like conclusions. The term *Maiesté* (which Gierke asserts that Althusius was the first to apply to the people) Hotman, a generation earlier, said "had its proper seat in the solemn assembly of the Estates", which he identified with the people.⁴⁵

The *Franco-Gallia* follows Calvin's *Institutes* in picturing the "easy lapse" from royalty to tyranny and the necessity of constitutional restraint through representatives of the people. Reference to Calvin was dangerous in France, therefore Plato is given as author of the sentiment. Plato however taught that tyranny springs from democracy.⁴⁶ Finally, to his other Calvinistic remedies against tyranny, the Huguenot lawyer adds the supreme visible authority of "la parole de Dieu".⁴⁷

The *Franco-Gallia* was widely read and Hotman's influence is directly traceable among Huguenots, Puritans, and liberals.⁴⁸

Beza's *Droit des Magistrats*, shown to Hotman and written simultaneously with the *Franco-Gallia* in 1573, thus develops Calvinistic premises and conclusions.⁴⁹

"There is no other will but God's alone which is perpetual and immutable, the principle of all justice." Princes are to be obeyed if they do not violate "the first table of the law of God", or "what one owes to his neighbor according to his vocation public or private". "Peoples . . . are more ancient than their magistrates, and consequently the people are not created for their magistrates, but on the contrary the magistrates for the people; as the tutor for the pupil."⁵⁰ Tyrants "are not legitimate kings", and therefore "should be opposed by all". Beza cannot "condemn all tyrannicides without exception". Though private individuals should seek remedy "through their lawful magistrates", "if the magistrate fails to do his duty, then each private individual should with all his power maintain the lawful status of his country, to which, after God, everyone owes his allegiance, against him who is not his magistrate since he wishes to usurp or has usurped domination in violation of law."⁵¹

Though he here goes beyond Calvin, Beza's characteristic appeal

⁴⁵ Hotman, pp. 451vo, 422ro, 424ro, 454; Gierke, *Althusius* (1902), p. 144.

⁴⁶ *Institutes*, IV, xx, 8, 31; Hotman, p. 384ro; Plato, *Republic*, VIII, 562 ff.; Elkan, *Publizistik der Bartholomäusnacht und Mornay's Vindiciae*, p. 38.

⁴⁷ Hotman, p. 482vo.

⁴⁸ Direct evidence in Beza's *Droit des Magistrats*; Milton's *Defensio Prima* (1651), p. 212; *Defensio Secunda*; Sidney, *Government*, ch. ii., sect. xxx; Thomas Hollis, *Memoirs*, II., appendix. Selden quotes Hotman 25 times in notes on Drayton, *Polyolbion*. Mirabeau owned the *Memoirs*, containing *France-Gaule*.

⁴⁹ Beza, *Du Droit des Magistrats*. Cartier, in *Bull. Soc. d'Hist. de Genève* (1900), II², 187-206, established from the archives Beza's authorship. Twelve editions in French or Latin (*De Jure Magistratum*) appeared by 1608.

⁵⁰ Beza, pp. 483-484, 487ro; cf. above, Hotman, p. 454ro.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 488vo-490ro.

is to the responsible authorities. He urges the duty of everyone to co-operate in securing "the common lawful assembly" and the enforcement ("by those whose function it is, *when God gives them power*") of "the compacts and edicts already lawfully granted". Beza here advocates precisely what the Huguenots to his knowledge (not improbably with his advice) had been attempting through both civil and church officers, namely, functional responsibility, and insistence on rights guaranteed to Huguenots by royal edicts.⁵²

"There exists a *mutuelle obligation* between king and magistrate": each is bound by oath to see that the other does not violate "certain conditions". If the king "manifestly violates the conditions on which he has been accepted", the magistrates are "freed from their oath, at least so far as to be justified in opposing the manifest oppression of the kingdom they have sworn to defend, according to their calling and particular function". "The nations, so far as justice and equity have prevailed, have neither created nor accepted their kings save on certain conditions; if these are manifestly violated, it follows that those who had the power to grant kings such authority have no less power to deprive them of it."⁵³ This power lies especially with the "Estates or others ordained to serve as bridle to sovereigns"; "and those whose duty it is can and should take it in hand, if they do not wish to violate the oath they have taken to God and their country."⁵⁴

Beza significantly joins together "God and the Estates" as charged with the deposing of kings; maintains that "the Estates are above kings"; and denies that subjects "break faith when each within the limits of his vocation hinders the course of tyranny". He appeals to *droit de nature, generale et universelle equite*, and *droit de gens* as fundamental law.⁵⁵ Proceeding then from the sovereignty of God and the law of God, Beza, Calvin's colleague and successor, develops these theories: (1) the sovereignty of the people represented by their estates and elective magistrates; (2) the responsibility of these representatives to God and the people; (3) the mutual compact of king and representatives; (4) the subjection of both to fundamental law; (5) the consequent obligation of constitutional resistance to tyranny.

The influence of Beza was enormous. His writings were quoted or his counsel directly asked by Huguenots, Dutch, Germans, Scots,

⁵² Cf. Beza, pp. 491ro-493vo, 496, 513ro, 520vo-521ro, with *Hist. Ecclesi.*, III, 298-311, 202 ff., and *Mémoires Charles IX.*, II, 139-140, 360-369.

⁵³ Beza, pp. 493vo, 496vo.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 496vo, 511ro.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 511ro-515vo.

English Puritans, and American colonists. The bitter criticisms of him and his "Genevian ideas" witness his authority. Whitgift complained to Beza of his attempts in England and Scotland, through seven different publications, to "obtrude the Geneva discipline upon all churches and . . . bring back . . . a Democracy".⁵⁶ On an average, one edition of his Latin Testament, teaching political Calvinism through its annotations, appeared annually, and some one of his works in English dress semi-annually, for a half-century. A fresh edition of Beza and Marot's Psalms, made more inspiring by their militant music, appeared every three weeks for four years.⁵⁷

Le Politique, Dialogue . . . de l'Autorité des Princes et de la Liberté des Peuples illustrates the familiar Calvinistic theories in many anonymous Huguenot pamphlets appearing after St. Bartholomew. "Every power is of God"; the "people's deputies", or "ephors", "established by God and nature" (who have received the oath of kings to obey the laws, and who have made and may unmake kings), are in duty bound to fulfill their function and prevent tyranny if the king violates his oath, the laws he has covenanted to keep, the edicts he has granted, or the "sovereign law of God and nature".⁵⁸

In 1579 another Huguenot, Mornay, author of *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*, starts with the Calvinistic reasoning: "Since the will of God alone is always just and that of man may very often be unjust, who doubts that it is necessary to obey God always, without exception . . . and kings, subject to exception, *i. e.*, provided they do not command anything against the law of God."⁵⁹ The king may be punished by "the whole people to whom the king swears and obligates himself no less than the people does to the king". In proof of this he cites the example of Josiah (quoted by Calvin, Knox, and the Scots), and agrees with Calvin, Beza, the Genevan version's marginal note on II Kings, xi. 17, and the like interpretation adopted by the Scottish Assembly and Parliament as to the two alliances and two oaths—"the first with God . . . the second with the king".⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Stryce, *Whitgift*, p. 405.

⁵⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat.; Stat. Reg.*; Douen, *Psautier Huguenot*, I. 561-563. In the colonies Beza's works appear in the libraries of at least four colleges, of three college presidents who exercised marked political influence, and of eleven other individuals or institutions. Stiles quotes Beza on Aragon oath. Cf. note 44.

⁵⁸ In *Mémoires Charles IX.*, III., especially pp. 810-930.

⁵⁹ *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*; French edition (1581), *De la Puissance Légitime du Prince, etc.*, par Estienne Junius Brutus, p. 15. Mornay's authorship, shown by Lossen and Waddington, substantiated by Elkan (1905), is accepted by Lee, *French Renaissance in England* (1910), and Hauser, *Sources de l'Histoire de France* (1912). Grotius's positive assertion in 1645 of Mornay's authorship appears overlooked by recent writers (*Opera Theol.*, IV. 702a).

⁶⁰ Mornay, pp. 54, 73-75.

Like Beza and Hotman, Mornay ties up popular sovereignty with representation government.⁶¹ "When we speak of the whole people, we understand those who have in hand the authority in behalf of the people, that is the magistrates" . . . "if they do not restrict within his limits the king who breaks the law of God or who prevents the re-establishment thereof, they offend grievously the Lord with whom they have contracted alliance". Private citizens are not to obey commands against God; "further than this, they have no right, and cannot of their own private authority take arms if it does not appear very manifest that they have extraordinary vocation".⁶²

Like other Calvinists Mornay maintains that "there is a mutual obligation between the king and the people which, whether civil, simply natural, unexpressed, or declared in express terms, cannot be abolished in any way whatever nor infringed". "Brabant and other provinces of the Netherlands furnish examples of express agreements".⁶³ Mornay in his correspondence with William of Orange, the Estates, and others, repeatedly urged and justified the Dutch revolt on the basis of Philip's violation of reciprocal obligations and charter rights.⁶⁴ Written when the Dutch needed foreign aid, and published through William the Silent's secretary, Villiers, the *Vindiciae* defended such constitutional revolution.⁶⁵

Mornay, the "Huguenot pope", adviser of Henry of Navarre, friend and correspondent of the councillors of Elizabeth and William, active as publicist and politician, exercised a wide influence. The *Vindiciae*, in addition to the Latin text of 1579 and the French of 1581, was reprinted together with Beza's *Droit des Magistrats* six times by 1608; twice appeared in English translation, during the Civil War and the Revolution; and was quoted by Parliament preachers. At least fifteen others of Mornay's books were published in English by 1617. He visited England several times and was in frequent correspondence with England, Holland, and Geneva.⁶⁶

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 62, 93.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 194, 192.

⁶⁴ In 1571, 1576, 1582; Mornay, *Mémoires et Correspondance*, VI, 430; II, 133 ff.; Elkan, *Publizistik der Barholomäusnacht*, pp. 103, 108, 119-120.

⁶⁵ Pp. 232-233; Grotius, *Epistolae*, II, 949, 951; Elkan, p. 63; Hauser, *Sources*, III, 265.

⁶⁶ Copies of his works were in the colonial libraries of Brewster, Harvard, Prince, President Langdon and Jabez Fitch of Portsmouth, Reverend Robert Ward, Princeton, Dartmouth. He was quoted with approval in the 1593 Petition to Elizabeth, by Thomas Hooker in Connecticut, by Milton in his *Second Defence of the People of England*, and in Thomas Hollis's annotations on Milton's

In the Netherlands, revolt was justified upon Calvinistic theories by William the Silent and his Genevan-bred advisers. William maintained that he was "one of the chief members of the Estates", and "the Estates have been instituted to put a check upon the tyranny of the prince". "The king is only inaugurated after having sworn to observe the law." "He violated the law . . . the prince of Orange is therefore freed of his oaths." "Lawfully called as the vindicator of liberty and the savior of an oppressed people by a divine and human call, he is bound thereto by the function which he exercises. Let all therefore who do not oppose themselves to the will of God comprehend that each according to the measure of his duty in virtue of the obedience due to God, country, laws, and magistrates must second the efforts of the Prince of Orange."⁶⁷

Marnix St. Aldegonde, the Genevan-bred theologian and diplomat, and right-hand man of William, answered his request for advice thus: "Men have taken arms by the advice and authority of the Estates General of the country, which have a lawful vocation from God against an oppressor of the country and a sworn and irrecconcilable enemy of all servants of God." "If they reject a prince who is offered them for their defense against tyranny, they are ungrateful toward God, rebellious against His will and merit coming under the yoke."⁶⁸

Nine months after the receipt of this reply William, in his justification of the revolt addressed to the Estates General, strikingly illustrated the Calvinistic teachings of covenant, ephors, and representative responsibility. The ruler "by his oath purposes that in case of contravention we should not be longer bound to him". "Between all lords and vassals there is a mutual obligation. . . . Among other rights we have this privilege of serving our dukes as the ephors served their kings in Sparta, that is, to keep the royalty firm in the hand of a good prince and to bring to reason him who contravenes his oath." "The assembly of the estates, a bridle and bar to tyranny, hated by tyrants, and loved by true princes, is the

Eikonoklastes. John Adams, in his *Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States* (Works, VI. 4), names the *Vindiciae*, with the writings of Ponet, Harrington, Milton, Sidney, and Locke, as "valuable productions", "perhaps more frequently read abroad than at home", of which "Americans should make collections". Peter Gartz classed him and Althusius as the most dangerous advocates of the sovereignty of the people. Gierke, *Althusius*, p. 7, quoting Peter Gartz, *Puritanischer Glaubens- und Regiments Spiegel* (Leipzig, 1650), for trace of which the writer would be grateful.

⁶⁷ William to Elizabeth, 1572. British Museum, Cottonian Manuscripts, Galba, C. II. and III., in Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Les Huguenots et les Gueux*, III, 177-182.

⁶⁸ Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives . . . d'Orange-Nassau*, VII, 277-285.

sole foundation of a state."⁶⁹ Failure to constrain the ruler is perjury.

Seven months later the Estates General of the Netherlands, like the Parliament of Scotland, put Calvinistic theory into practice, embodying its teaching of constitutional resistance in a document having the force of public law in the Netherlands, the Dutch Declaration of Independence, 1581. "A prince is constituted by God to be ruler of a people, to defend them from oppression." "God did not create the people slaves to their prince, to obey his commands, whether right or wrong, but rather the prince for the sake of the subjects." "And when he . . . on the contrary, oppresses them, seeking opportunities to infringe their ancient customs and privileges . . . then he is no longer a prince, but a tyrant." "When this is done deliberately, unauthorized by the states, they may not only disallow his authority, but legally proceed to the choice of another prince for their defence. . . . This is what the law of nature dictates for the defense of liberty . . . more justifiable in our land . . . for most of the Provinces receive their prince upon certain conditions, which he swears to maintain; which, if the prince violates, he is no longer sovereign."⁷⁰

The Declaration was justified the following year by Mornay, who maintained that the reciprocal obligation between prince and subject rested on divine as well as on natural right, since nature is only God's handiwork. The Estates of the Netherlands therefore, in accordance with their natural and civil rights, deposed the King of Spain rightly, for nothing is more natural or lawful than the annulling of a contract which one of the two parties has broken. Mornay also, like William, maintains the Calvinistic teaching of obedience to God rather than man.⁷¹

In Germany, five representative Calvinists, three of whom had come into personal relations with Geneva, maintained the obligation of the representative magistrate to resist the tyrant. Zanchius, exile from Italy, and professor at Strassburg and Heidelberg, maintained, on the basis of the frequently quoted Scriptural and classical passages and examples, that "resistance to the superior magistrate commanding evil is not resistance to a power ordained by God". "We ought to obey God rather than man." "If for the sake of religion you oppose yourself to the King, you oppose yourself not

⁶⁹ *Apologie de Guillaume de Nassau* (ed. Lacroix), pp. 85, 101, 102 ff., 118; English translation, *Phenix*, I. 449-538.

⁷⁰ Dutch Declaration of Independence, translation in *Somers Tracts*, I. 323 ff.

⁷¹ Mornay, *Mém. et Corr.*, II. 133 ff.; summarized in Elkan, p. 120.

to power but to tyranny, and unless you so oppose yourself you act contrary to divine and human law."⁷²

Zanchius had lived in Geneva, worked vigorously for the introduction of Calvinistic church discipline into the Palatinate, served as an elder at Heidelberg, and was asked by Calvin to come to Geneva. His books were widely owned and read.⁷³

Another cosmopolitan, the Italian exile, Peter Martyr, twice invited to Geneva by Calvin, spread the latter's political theories through twenty years' residence in Strassburg, Oxford, and Zürich, and through his widely read *Loci Communes* and commentaries. Martyr taught that the private man may not revolt; but that "the lesser powers" like the "ephors and Roman tribunes" or "Imperial Electors" who "elect the superior powers and govern the Republic with fixed laws", may use force to compel a prince "to fulfill conditions and compacts (*pacta*) to which he has taken oath". Unlike Melancthon and like a true Calvinist, he teaches active and not passive resistance.⁷⁴

The famous German publicist, Althusius, professor of law at Herborn, and a courageous magistrate at Emden for thirty-six years, maintained in his *Politica Methodice Digesta* (1603) the Calvinistic teaching of the duties of the ephors and estates ordained by God. Althusius had apparently lived at Geneva; he certainly acknowledged his indebtedness to Gothofredus, a Genevan professor of law; exercised the function of a Calvinistic elder in the church at Emden; and "in all his works betrays a strong Calvinistic spirit". He taught that if the sovereign breaks the contract between him and the people he loses his divine authority and the people exercise the divine will in deposing him. Gierke notes in Althusius, in common with other Calvinists, these characteristic traits of political thought: use of the Scripture for determining the outward form of Church and State; predominance of Old Testament examples; emphasis of the decalogue in politics; admiration for Jewish law and form of state; rejection of canon law; presbyterian and synodal church organization; and co-operation of Church and State. "Finally, in

⁷² *Opera Theologica*, IV. 799-801.

⁷³ In the Bodleian, given by Evelyn; library of William Ames; colonial libraries of at least seven New England ministers and four colleges; quoted in the Petition to Elizabeth, 1593. Richard Hooker, Henry Jacobs, Bayly's *Practice of Piety*, Puritan and Anglican preachers, Thomas Hooker of Connecticut.

⁷⁴ "Nec tantum parendum non est sed reclamandum et adversandum pro viribus". *Loci Communes* (ed. 1576), 4th Div., Loc. XX., sects. 11-13, pp. 1086-1087. Cf. "P. Melancthon upon the xiii chapter of . . . Romanes"; see also below, note 81. Martyr's works were in libraries of Brewster, Harvard, Goodborne, Harvard College, Rowland Cotton, Nathaniel Rogers, Joseph Sewall, and Thomas Prince. Quoted by Pareus on this passage, Thomas Hooker, and John Allin.

the formation of the constitution of the state in all of these Calvinistic political writers, there are certain common positive traits which hark back to the propositions of Calvin, and particularly to his teaching of the ephors and their rights and duties to act against unrighteous rulers." Gierke then cites the famous section from the last chapter of Calvin's *Institutes* quoted at the beginning of this article.⁷⁵

This conception of a power conferred indirectly by God and directly by the people was expressed ten years later by a Heidelberg professor, "Pareus, a German divine, but fully cast into the Genevan mould".⁷⁶

"The proper and first cause of the magistrate is God himself; but men are the proximate causes."⁷⁷ "Subjects not private citizens, but appointed as inferior magistrates, may justly, even by arms, defend the commonwealth and church or religion against a superior magistrate", under certain conditions, "because even the higher magistrate is subject to divine laws and his commonwealth". "The law of God not only prohibits tyranny, but also commands that it be legitimately checked." Pareus's teaching of the right of deposition of kings is thus translated by Milton in his *Tenure of Kings*: "They whose part is to set up magistrates, may restrain them also from outrageous deeds, or pull them down; but all magistrates are set up either by parliament or by electors, or by other magistrates; they therefore, who exalted them may lawfully degrade and punish them."⁷⁸

The almost forgotten Pareus is typical of scores of Calvinistic writers, either Genevan-bred or directly influenced by men who had been in Geneva, whose books—listed by hundreds in American colonial libraries, and quoted by publicists of two continents and three centuries—through their combined and continued influence permanently affected the political thought and action of England and America. Pupil and colleague of four famous Heidelberg Calvinists who had been in Geneva, Pareus published a defense of Calvin, and quotes him eight times in his comments on the thirteenth chapter of Romans, from which the above citations are taken.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Gierke, *Johannes Althusius, und die Entwicklung der Naturrechtlichen Staatstheorien* (1902), pp. 56-58, 29-30, 31, 34, 69, quotations from Althusius, *Politica*.

⁷⁶ South, *Sermons*, I. 471.

⁷⁷ Pareus, *Comm. Rom.* (1617), p. 1059. Cf. Milton, *Tenure*, and Mornay, p. 96.

⁷⁸ Pp. 1063-1066; Milton, sect. 60. Oxford in 1622, in the case of Knight, of Pembroke College, condemned the whole doctrine of Pareus respecting the authority of popular officers, and King James ordered the book burnt. Heylin, *Stumbling-Block*, preface; South, *Sermons*, I. 471.

⁷⁹ His works (some published in Geneva) were in the Bodleian (1605), the

A fourth German widely read, Alstedius of Nassau, member of the Synod of Dort, maintained the characteristic theories of Calvinists: the subjection of all to the *lex naturae* and to the Bible; obedience to laws rather than to kings; the right of the entire body of subjects to resist tyrants upon violation of oath; the function of "ephors" or estates of the realm to appoint, judge, and depose the king and exercise *summa auctoritas* especially in extraordinary taxes.⁸⁰

Resistance to tyrants did not originate with Calvinists, nor did the idea remain peculiar to them. It had been proclaimed by scriptural, classical, and medieval writers; it was advocated by Lutheran and Catholic. The Calvinist provided a method of resistance that was at once definite, legal, and practicable; combined it with other theories and the sound experiences of self-governing churches and civil communities; and finally worked it out into something of world significance—responsible, representative, constitutional government. Where Aquinas taught passive resistance, Zanchius, quoting Aquinas, "took the next step" and urged active resistance.⁸¹ In case of "irreligious and iniquitous commands", said Beza, "it is not enough not to do evil, but we must acquit ourselves of that which we owe God and our neighbor".⁸² Lutherans who proclaimed and practised active resistance at Magdeburg met criticism at Wittenberg; they found sympathy at Geneva, where Calvin sided with them against Melancthon, and Beza ascribed his anonymous revolutionary treatise to "those of Magdeburg".⁸³

That the Jesuits and the Catholic "Monarchomachi" of the sixteenth century took a leaf from the Calvinistic book of political theory is itself a witness to the ever-widening political influence of Calvinists. These Catholic writers however retained the canon law;

libraries of William Ames and Cartmel Church, Lancashire (1629), Rothwell's *Catalogue of Approved Divinity Books* (1657), London's *Catalogue of Most Vendible Books* (1658); were quoted by Knight at Oxford, Hill and Gibson in Civil War sermons before Parliament, Milton, and Thomas Hall in *Pulpit Guarded* (1651), and controverted by the Royalists Heylin and South. In America his books were in at least seventeen colonial libraries—those of Brewster, Harvard, Lee, Prince, Samuel Phillips, Rowland Cotton, John Adams, President Langdon of Harvard and Nathaniel Rogers, Harvard College (repurchased 1764 after fire), Yale, Princeton, Dartmouth, Kirtland, founder of Hamilton, Logan, Byrd, Edenton, and John Rose. Thomas Hooker quoted him in his *Survey*, and John Wise in his widely read and frequently reprinted *Churches' Quarrel*.

⁸⁰ *Encyclopaedia*, lib. XXIII, viii, 9, 1419, 1420, 1474, 1493. Alstedius appears in at least nine colonial libraries.

⁸¹ Quoting Aquinas, "2 part. quest. 96, art. 4 *nullo modo observare*"; Zanchius teaches "*sed contra potius resistere*", *Opera*, I, 196-197. Cf. above, note 74, Peter Martyr.

⁸² *Droit des Magistrats*, p. 485.

⁸³ Bonnet, *Calvin's Letters*, II, 270 ff.; Beza, title-page of *Droit des Magistrats*.

minimized the dignity and power of the State; and in neither Church nor State developed government and discipline by representative bodies of laymen, as did the Calvinists. The Calvinist rejected the canon law; insisted that civil magistrates were "ordained by the divine law of God" and were "not a human ordinance"; laid less emphasis upon tyrannicide and more upon representative government and nationality.⁸⁴ More significant still, he definitely established constitutional government. His ideas of "vocation", representative responsibility, compact, and fundamental written law were embodied in a series of documents which formed the working basis of successful constitutional governments in a series of Puritan states—usually with a significant federal element—Geneva, the United Netherlands, the English Commonwealth, Scotland under the Solemn League and Covenant, the New England Confederation and its constituent Puritan commonwealths, and, in practice if not in legal theory, certain New England self-governing communities.⁸⁵

The Calvinistic system of elementary and university education—its belief that "conscience requires knowledge"; its pregnant emphasis upon reason, completer sources, original languages, and serviceableness to the commonwealth; its tendency to a scientific spirit and more fearless investigation and drawing of conclusions—gave essential intellectual and moral training in more than a score of European Calvinistic universities and seven American colleges founded by Calvinists, 1636-1783. "The habit of my thinking", said the Genevan-born and educated Albert Gallatin, "has been to push discoveries to their utmost consequences without fear".⁸⁶

The Church through its lay government and severe discipline showed magistrate and common man what it was to exercise representative responsibility in making and enforcing law regardless of rank, and in accordance with a written fundamental law, "the open Word of God", and some form of written church constitution. Then Beza, the Huguenot *États Généraux*, Scottish Covenanters, William of Orange, Cartwright, Hooker, Cotton, and Winthrop

⁸⁴ Grotius, *Opera Theologica*, IV. 487a, 702a; Pierre Moulin, *Buckler of the Faith* (second ed., Eng. trans., 1623), pp. 536-556; and his *Anti-Coton* (Eng. trans., 1611), pp. 1-5, 15, 57, 59; Gierke, *Althusius*, p. 58; Labitte, *Prédicateurs de la Ligue*, pp. 17, 96, 292.

⁸⁵ See Genevan *Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques* and civil code; Dutch Declaration of Independence; Union of Utrecht; Solemn League and Covenant; Instrument of Government; Fundamental Orders of Connecticut; Massachusetts Body of Liberties; Articles of New England Confederation; and at least a dozen New England church, town, or colony covenants, 1636-1641.

⁸⁶ "Calvinists and Education", by writer, in Monroe, *Cyclopaedia of Education*, I.; Adams, *Gallatin*, p. 678.

logically advocated a similar form of government in the State, and wherever possible established it.

Their sound principles of six days' labor weekly of every man at his "calling", the right to take interest, the obligation to produce, "lay something by", and give away, enabled Calvinists to found economically self-sufficient states, successful enough to attract desirable population, productive and progressive enough to maintain liberal expenditures for education, religion, social betterment, and constitutional government.

Their political theories could never have found such effective utterance and fulfilment had there not been behind all theory the dynamics of Calvinism—the trained conscience, brain, and will of sturdy, clear-minded, businesslike men of affairs, rulers of cities and founders of states, devoted each to his "vocation" to which every man had been called by the ceaseless will of "The Eternal" who "held the helm of the universe". "They had to the highest degree the force that made them strong: character. They knew whither they were going, what they wished and what they could do."⁸⁷ They possessed what for lack of a simpler term might be called the co-operative social energy of clear-eyed individualists. The dynamics of Calvinism are revealed in Calvin's "unterrified we shall go on in our calling" . . . "ad ultimum usque spiritum"; in the pride in being "ane watchman" and "a profitable member within the Commonwealth" of Knox, "who never feared the face of man"; in Andrew Melville's "we dar and will"; Beza's exhortation to "succor our brethren according to our power and vocation"; Mornay's dictum, "it is stupid to feel in one's self the power to do something well and not seek out the means of doing it"; and Aldegonde's motto "repos d'ailleurs".

With real political insight, the Calvinist grasped the possibilities involved in the combination of the theories of: (1) "vocation", (2) representative "responsibility to God and the people", (3) fundamental and written law of God and man, to which (4) king, representatives, and people were bound by mutual compact. With characteristic temper he "went forward", not resting until he had demonstrated the practicability of these ideas and established both constitutional resistance and constitutional government. Once embodied in edict, statute, or charter, in Geneva, France, Holland, Scotland, England, and America, these theories were appealed to with relentless Calvinistic logic as public and fundamental law. The ad-

⁸⁷ Hauser, "De l'Humanisme et de la Réforme en France, 1512-1552", *Revue Historique*, LXIV, 258-297 (1897).

ditional facts that such laws "aggrie with the law of God" and that they were rewarded with the prosperity promised by God were logically pointed out, by believers in universal providence and the reign of law, as evidence of the soundness of their principles and as "public proof of the Agency of God". The Calvinist based his political theories upon his faith in an almighty providence and found his actual institutions confirming his faith.⁸⁸

HERBERT DARLING FOSTER.

⁸⁸ Knox, *Works*, II, 449; Beza, *Droit des Magistrats*, p. 586 ff.; *Vindiciae*, p. 239; Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, VII, 282-285; Jurieu, "Plaintes Protestantes" (1685), in *Bull. Soc. Hist. Prot. Française*, September, 1913; *Catalogue of Books*, College of New Jersey (1760), IV.

SLAVERY AND CONVERSION IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES¹

FROM the time of Christian Rome to a period within the memory of many now living, slavery has flourished in Christian lands and nowhere, in modern times, to such an extent as in our own country. Even before the Revolution probably a million negroes had lived as slaves within the boundaries of the American colonies. But, in spite of the fact that religious motives were so prominent in the settlement of these colonies, and religion was a subject which occupied the thought and effort of private individuals, denominations, missionary societies, and even legislative bodies to an extraordinary degree, most of the slaves lived and died strangers to Christianity, and with religious and moral ideals but little better than those developed under the pagan and superstitious beliefs prevalent in their native land. With comparatively few exceptions the conversion of negro slaves was not seriously undertaken by their masters. On the contrary, many of them strenuously and persistently opposed the Church of England and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the agencies most active in promoting conversion. The conflict between these forces forms an interesting chapter in the history of slavery and Christianity in the American colonies. The following study considers for the most part one aspect only of this struggle, *viz.*, the more direct agencies and forces which promoted or hindered the conversion of the negro slave, and the progress made up to the opening of the American Revolution.

One of the arguments offered in defense of the modern slave-trade, was that which justified the enslavement of the negro on the ground that he was an infidel. In the ancient world all men were considered equally capable of becoming slaves; but with the conversion of the people of northern Europe to Christianity the custom of enslaving prisoners of war gradually ceased as between Christian nations, though between Christians and Mohammedans the practice continued.² Thus at the time when America was first colonized, the opinion was widely held that the inhabitants of an infidel nation could be rightfully made slaves by those of a Christian nation.

¹ This study is an elaboration of certain portions of a paper read by the author at the meeting of the American Historical Association at Charleston, S. C., December, 1913.

² Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I. 160-161.

Some believed that heathens and barbarians were placed by the circumstance of their infidelity without the pale of spiritual and civil rights and that their souls were doomed to eternal perdition.³ Others, more charitable, brought forward another argument, perhaps to quiet their consciences and enable them to share in the profits of the slave-trade. They declared that the enslavement of the negro was an act of mercy, because only through slavery could large numbers be brought to Christ. Some of the papal bulls of the fifteenth century granted to Catholic princes the privilege of making war on the Saracens and other infidels, for this reason;⁴ and European monarchs sometimes allowed companies of discoverers, commercial adventurers, etc., the right to trade in slaves, partly because conversion might thereby be promoted.⁵

This religious sanction for slavery raised many troublesome questions. It appears that some believed that the conversion of a negro to Christianity entitled him to freedom, on the ground that one Christian should not hold another as a slave; others asserted that after conversion he should at least have certain religious privileges that were conferred on other persons because they were Christians or members of a Christian state.⁶ The question giving most trouble was that which concerned the effect of conversion or baptism. If proof of heathenism legalized the enslavement of a negro, would his subsequent conversion to Christianity be a reason for enfranchisement? The practice of certain European nations favored enslavement even after conversion. Thus Mohammedan slaves in Spain and Portugal were not often freed when Christianized.⁷ The French *Code Noir* of 1685 obliged every planter to have his negroes baptized and properly instructed in the doctrines and duties of Christianity.⁸ In Mohammedan states conversion of a slave from a different faith to Islam was not usually a legal cause for enfranchisement.⁹ But in England and her colonies many believed that such conversion or baptism should be a cause for manumission. The lawfulness of the enslavement of negroes in England came be-

³ 7 Coke 17, Calvin's case (*Reports*, ed. 1826, IV. 29); Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella* (ed. Kirk, 1872), II. 468.

⁴ Cf. bull of Nicholas V., January 8, 1455, referring to conquests in Guinea, and "Guineans and other negroes". The bull is printed in Jordão, *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum in Ecclesiis Africae, Asiae atque Oceaniae*, etc., I. 31-34.

⁵ Hurd, I. 163; Hewatt, *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of South Carolina and Georgia* (London, 1779), in Carroll, *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, I. 353.

⁶ Chamberline v. Harvey (1697), in 5 *Modern Reports* 190; Prescott, p. 468.

⁷ Hurd, I. 166-167, note 3, and authorities cited.

⁸ Isambert, Decrusy, and Taillandier, *Recueil Général des Anciennes Lois Françaises* (Paris, 1829), XIX. 495 (1672-1686).

⁹ Hurd, I. 167. But see Chamberline v. Harvey for contrary opinion.

fore the courts on several occasions but the cases are in conflict. A few decisions seem to have been based on the principle that infidel negroes could be held as slaves, but when baptized and domiciled as inhabitants they should be enfranchised.¹⁰ At any rate there arose in the minds of many American colonists the notion that under English law a baptized slave might claim freedom. Conscientious masters thus found themselves in a dilemma: to deny conversion and baptism would retard Christianization; to favor it might cause them the loss of their property. To avoid this dilemma, some of the colonial assemblies altered the religious sanction for slavery and based its validity frankly upon race. While positively denying that conversion or baptism was a sufficient reason for enfranchisement and insisting that all slaves must serve for life, they at the same time called upon masters to use their efforts to convert slaves to the Christian religion.

Thus between 1664 and 1706 at least six of the colonies passed acts affirming this principle. Maryland (1664) declared that all slaves must serve for life in order to prevent damage which masters might sustain if their slaves pretended to be Christians and so pleaded the law of England.¹¹ Again in 1671, because some had feared to import, purchase, convert, or baptize negroes or slaves, owing to a belief based on an "ungrounded apprehension that by becoming Christians they and the Issues of their bodies are actually manumitted and made free and discharged from their Servitude and bondage", it was declared that the conversion or baptism of negroes or other slaves before or after their importation should not be a cause for manumission.¹² A Virginia act of 1667 declared that slaves by birth were not freed when baptized. The preamble states that it was passed because doubt had arisen in the minds of owners of slaves on this point, and "that diverse masters, freed from this doubt, may more carefully endeavour the propagation of christianity by permitting children, though slaves, or those of greater growth if capable to be admitted to that sacrament".¹³ Virginia now proceeded with the notion that a negro Christianized before importation could not be enslaved for life. By the act of 1670 only those imported by shipping and not already Christians were to

¹⁰ *Butts v. Penny* (1677), 2 Levinz 201, in *English Reports*, LXXXIII. 518; *Gelly v. Cleve* (1694), 1 Lord Raymond 147, *ibid.*, XCI. 994; *Chamberline v. Harvey*, p. 191. Judgment was for defendant in this case, but counsel for plaintiff argued that negroes baptized "in a christian nation, as this is, should be an immediate enfranchisement to them", etc.

¹¹ *Archives of Maryland*, I, 526, 533.

¹² *Ibid.*, II. 272. This act was still in force in 1765. Bacon, *Laws of Maryland*, chs. XXIII.-XXIV. of the act of 1715.

¹³ Hening, *Statutes of Virginia* (New York ed.), II. 260.

be slaves for life.¹⁴ This act was repealed in 1682 because it allowed a Christian slave to be sold "for noe longer time then the English or other christians are to serve", and was thus a great discouragement to bringing in slaves.¹⁵ This act with that of 1705¹⁶ made all imported servants slaves, excepting those who were Christians in their native country or free in some Christian country before their importation, thus practically confining slavery to the negro races. North Carolina, South Carolina, New York, and New Jersey all affirmed the principle by denying that freedom resulted from baptism.¹⁷ Those colonies which do not appear to have taken action were Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, and all the New England colonies.¹⁸ It is clear, however, that the assemblies in colonies where slaves were most numerous were anxious to remove the doubt respecting the effect of baptism, and at the same time encourage the conversion of slaves.

The forces thus far mentioned promoted to a greater or less degree the conversion of imported negroes, even though they were compelled to live in a state of bondage. For the removal of large numbers from an environment in which paganism and superstition were the ruling forces, even though accomplished through slave-traders, to one in which Christianity prevailed, made probable the conversion of a greater number of negroes than would otherwise have been possible. The removal by legislative action of doubt as to the effect of baptism, and the favorable attitude shown towards conversion by the assemblies, doubtless encouraged some masters to withdraw opposition to conversion. However, as the matter was still uncertain, even after 1704, the opinion of Yorke and Talbot, attorney and solicitor general respectively, was asked. They replied (1729) that baptism did not alter the status of the slave.¹⁹

We may now consider other influential agencies and forces

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 491.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, III. 447. Excepting "Turks and Moors in Amity with her majesty".

¹⁷ Fundamental Constitutions, 1669-1670, in *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I. 204; and revision of 1698, *ibid.*, II. 857; McCord, *Statutes of South Carolina*, VII. 343 (act of 1690), and pp. 364-365 (act of 1712); *Colonial Laws of New York*, I. 597-598 (1706). The New Jersey act was passed in 1704, but was disallowed. Trott, *Laws of the British Plantations in America*, p. 257; *Acts of Privy Council, Colonial Series*, 1680-1720, p. 848.

¹⁸ Such an act was requested in Massachusetts in a memorial to the general court from "Many Ministers of the Gospel", May 30, 1694. *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay*, VII. 537. See note 67.

¹⁹ The opinion is printed in Hurd, I. 185-186, note 3. It referred, however, to slaves brought into Great Britain from the colonies. On the tendency to accept English laws as applicable to the colonies, see Hildreth, *History of the United States* (New York, 1863), II. 426. Dean Berkeley, in his sermon before the S. P. G., 1731, said that this opinion was printed in Rhode Island, "and dispersed throughout the plantations". See Updike, *History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett, Rhode Island* (1847), p. 177.

which promoted the conversion of slaves, first, with respect to English official bodies. As early as December 1, 1660, instructions were given by the king to the Council for Foreign Plantations, one of which was,

And you are to consider how such of the Natives or such as are purchased by you from other parts to be servants or slaves may be best invited to the Christian Faith, and be made capable of being baptized thereunto, it being to the honor of our Crowne and of the Protestant Religion that all persons in any of our Dominions should be taught the knowledge of God, and be made acquainted with the misteries of Salvation.²⁰

Instructions to governors of the colonies frequently contained a clause urging them to use their efforts to have slaves Christianized. For example, Governor Dongan of New York was instructed on this point (1686): "You are alsoe with the assistance of Our Council to find out the best means to facilitate and encourage the Conversion of Negroes and Indians to the Christian Religion." Similar instructions were given to later governors of New York and other colonies. Culpeper, governor of Virginia, was enjoined in his instructions (1682) to inquire what would be the best means of facilitating the conversion of slaves, but was warned not to throw in jeopardy individual property in the negro or to render less stable the safety of the colony.²¹ Some of the governors urged the assemblies to pass bills for this purpose,²² and used their efforts to promote conversion in other ways. Thus a communication by the governor to the council of Maryland, March 18, 1698/9, called attention to his instructions relating to the conversion of negroes and Indians, and because of information that several hindered and obstructed their negroes from attending church, though baptized, advised that a law should be recommended to the assembly to remedy the evil.²³ The replies of the governors to queries of the Lords of Trade show that some of them reported progress in this work.²⁴ Through such efforts the assemblies were influenced to pass bills

²⁰ *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York*, III, 36. See also *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1574-1660, pp. 492-493.

²¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, III, 374, also p. 547 (1688); for Virginia, Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, II, 97; for Maryland, *Archives of Maryland*, 1698-1731, XXV, 57; for North Carolina (1754), *N. C. Col. Rec.*, V, 1138.

²² *E. g.*, Governor Bellomont (1699), *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, IV, 510-511.

²³ *Arch. of Md.*, XXV, 57. See also *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, 1712-1713, letter of Elias Neau, catechist to the S. P. G., 1712, reporting that Governor Hunter of New York urged masters to give religious instruction to their slaves.

²⁴ *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, 1678-1689, pp. 293, 298; *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 497 (Va., 1683); and *Arch. of Md.*, V, 267 (1678).

furthering the conversion of negroes, as already pointed out. Some of them also passed acts to prevent masters from working their slaves on Sunday²⁵ and to prevent them from hindering their slaves attending church on Sunday.²⁶

More important than these agencies of the state, were the religious denominations and forces which promoted conversion. The Church of England stands first in importance, working through unofficial and official agencies. Morgan Godwyn, at one time a rector in Virginia, published a book in 1680 called *The Negro's and Indians Advocate*. It is a severe criticism of the masters of slaves in the plantations; and in the dedication to the Archbishop of Canterbury the author implores relief "for those Myriads of hungry and distressed Souls abroad . . . our Peoples Slaves and Vassals, but from whom also the Bread of Life is most sacrilegiously detained".²⁷ From 1679 the Bishop of London exercised considerable jurisdiction over the Church of England in the colonies, and from this date was active in its interest.²⁸ He appointed, in 1689, Rev. James Blair as commissary for Virginia, and, in 1696, Rev. Thomas Bray for Maryland.²⁹ The former urged upon a committee of the House of Burgesses, who had in hand a revision of the laws, a proposition "for the encouragement of the Christian Education of our Negro and Indian Children".³⁰ The latter, on his return to England in 1700, succeeded in procuring a charter for the S. P. G. (1701) destined to be the most important single agency in furthering the conversion of the negro.³¹ He had previously prepared a plan of a society for carrying on work "Amongst that Poorer sort of people, as also amongst the Blacks and Native Indians".³² The Bishop of London stimulated interest in the conversion of negroes in 1724 through his queries to the clergy of several colonies,³³ and again in 1727 through three published letters:³⁴ one

²⁵ E. g., South Carolina, 1712 and 1740; Trott, *Laws*, p. 71; and McCord, *Stat. of S. C.*, VII. 404; *St. Rec. of N. C.*, XXIII. 3-4 (1715). See note 86.

²⁶ Henning, *Stat. of Va.* (Richmond ed.), IV. 129; same act, 1748, *ibid.*, VI. 108. Compare also the New Jersey act, 1751, Allinson, *Acts of the General Assembly of New Jersey, 1702-1776*, pp. 191-192. See note 111.

²⁷ *The Negro's and Indians Advocate*, etc. (London, 1680).

²⁸ N. Y. Col. Docs., VII. 362-363.

²⁹ Perry, *History of the American Episcopal Church*, I. 138.

³⁰ Perry, *Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church* (Va.), p. 112.

³¹ *Classified Digest of Records of the S. P. G.* (fifth ed.), p. 5.

³² Kemp, *The Support of Schools in Colonial New York by the S. P. G.*, pp. 14-15.

³³ The queries, with answers, for Virginia and Maryland, are printed by Perry, in *Hist. Coll. rel. to the Am. Col. Ch.* (Va.), pp. 261-318; (Md.), pp. 190-232. See also for Maryland, 1731, pp. 303-307. See note 119.

³⁴ These are printed by Humphreys, *An Historical Account of the S. P. G.*, etc. (London, 1730), pp. 250-275; the first two are in Dalcho, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina*, pp. 104-114.

to masters and mistresses of slaves; another to the missionaries commanding them to distribute copies of this letter and use their efforts to promote conversion; and a third to "Serious Christians", asking for money to promote the work of conversion among the slaves.

An agency of still greater importance was the missionary society of the Church of England founded in 1701, "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts".³⁵ From 1702 to 1785 it sent to the American colonies numerous missionaries, catechists, and schoolmasters with instructions to promote the conversion of negro slaves.³⁶ Indeed the catechists were appointed for this express purpose.³⁷ Besides, the society distributed sermons, catechisms, and other literature, to aid the work,³⁸ and established several schools especially for religious instruction of negroes.³⁹ Appeals were made by the society for funds to be used for Christianizing the negro, and by 1741 they amounted to about £2500.⁴⁰ The society also prepared a bill, to be offered to Parliament, to oblige masters to cause children of slaves to be baptized.⁴¹ The annual sermons preached before the S. P. G. by noted clergymen of the Church of England were printed, together with abstracts of the proceedings of the society; and both were effective agencies in furthering interest in the conversion of negro slaves.⁴²

Other agencies include a society closely allied to the S. P. G., founded in 1723 by Dr. Bray, and called "Associates of Dr. Bray", whose authority was ratified by a decree in Chancery, June 24, 1730.⁴³ One of its objects was to give religious instruction to negroes and supply missionaries with books to this end. A school for negroes was opened in Philadelphia in 1758, and in 1760 similar schools were established in New York, Newport, Rhode Island, and Williamsburg, Virginia, all of which were in operation up to 1775.⁴⁴ Two other societies aided to some extent the conversion

³⁵ *Classified Digest*, pp. 925-928, for charter.

³⁶ *Abstract*, S. P. G., 1712-1713, p. 43. See also for text of instructions to missionaries and schoolmasters, with list of the former, *Classified Digest*, pp. 837-840, 844-845.

³⁷ Humphreys, p. 252.

³⁸ *Classified Digest*, p. 837.

³⁹ For the school at New York see note 134; for that in Charleston, S. C., see Dalcho, pp. 156-157, 164.

⁴⁰ Humphreys, pp. 250-251. "Letter of Bishop of London to Serious Christians", etc., *Abstract*, S. P. G., 1740-1741, p. 81.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 1713-1714, pp. 60-62.

⁴² A complete set of the sermons with abstracts, with one exception, is in the E. E. Ayer collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.

⁴³ For a short account of the work of this society, see Kemp, pp. 14-15, 254-261.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 255-256, 260, note. Benjamin Franklin was an active member of the Associates, and was chairman at their meeting in 1760. See *Writings of Franklin* (ed. Smyth), IV. 23.

of slaves. First, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. It helped to maintain missionaries to the Salzburgers in Georgia (1738-1776), who made great efforts for the conversion of slaves.⁴⁵ The Society for Promoting Christian Learning sent books, catechisms, etc. (1755-1761) to Samuel Davies of Virginia, for distribution among negroes.⁴⁶

We may now consider more in detail the attitude and work of the principal religious denominations as organized bodies. It is obvious that many troublesome questions would arise if Christian slaves were to be granted the same religious privileges as Christian free persons. The religious denominations were confronted with such problems as the following: the right of a church member to hold a slave; the endowment of churches with slaves; active efforts towards their conversion; formal religious instruction; church attendance; attitude towards baptism; admission as communicants in full standing; conduct after admission; grants of other privileges incident to church membership; and the relative responsibility of clergy and masters with respect to many of these particulars. The attitude of the principal religious denominations shows a considerable variety of beliefs and practices on such questions.

The Church of England did not raise the question of the right of its members to hold slaves, denied that there was any inconsistency between Christianity and slavery, and made no effort to emancipate negroes because of religious scruples. Indeed the Bishop of London had declared, in 1727, that Christianity did not make "the least Alteration in Civil Property; that the Freedom which Christianity gives, is a Freedom from the Bondage of Sin and Satan, and from the Dominion of those Lusts and Passions and inordinate Desires; but as to their outward condition they remained as before even after baptism".⁴⁷ The clergy held slaves⁴⁸ themselves, and the churches accepted them as a form of endowment.⁴⁹ On the other hand, the Church of England made great efforts towards the conversion of slaves, favored formal religious instruction by both clergy and masters, urged the clergy to persuade masters to allow their slaves to attend church, and baptized and admitted them as communicants.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Jacobs, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, p. 157; Allen and McClure, *History of the S. P. C. K.*, pp. 391-392.

⁴⁶ See note 125.

⁴⁷ Humphreys, p. 265.

⁴⁸ *Abstract, S. P. G.*, 1734-1735, p. 50; 1741-1742, p. 55; concerning slaves of rectors of St. Helen's Parish, S. C. Perry, *Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch.* (Va.), p. 280; Bolton, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Westchester County* (N. Y.), p. 250 (Rye, 1731); pp. 62-63 (Westchester, 1729).

⁴⁹ *N. C. Col. Rec.*, I, 734, letter of Mr. Adams, missionary of S. P. G., 1710; Beverley, *The History of Virginia* (London, 1722), p. 227.

⁵⁰ See note 120.

Of the various dissenting sects, the Friends alone, before the Revolution, seriously questioned, because of religious scruples, the right of church members to hold slaves. The Society of Friends was the only denomination that gradually forced members who held slaves to dispose of them or suffer expulsion from the church.⁵¹ It also favored the conversion of slaves. As early as 1657 George Fox urged the right of slaves to religious instruction,⁵² and in 1693 George Keith advised members to give their slaves "a Christian Education".⁵³ A minute of the yearly meeting of Pennsylvania, 1696, urged those who had negroes to be "careful of them, bring them to meetings, or have meetings with them in their families, and restrain them from loose and lewd living, as much as in them lies".⁵⁴ The yearly meetings in the Southern colonies sometimes raised the question whether Friends instructed their slaves in the principles of the Christian religion, for example in Virginia in 1722.⁵⁵ In North Carolina, 1752, the yearly meeting urged masters to encourage negroes to attend church,⁵⁶ and in 1758 it was agreed that meetings should be held at specified times at four designated places for the benefit of slaves.⁵⁷ The New England yearly meeting, 1769, advised Friends to take them to places of religious worship, and give such as were young "as much learning that they may be capable of reading".⁵⁸ While the official pronouncements of the yearly meetings indicate a strong interest in the religious welfare of slaves, in practice many Quakers held slaves, and it was not until just before the Revolution that severe measures were adopted to disown such members. Many refused to follow the suggestion of the yearly meetings and even the elders and ministers were holders of slaves.⁵⁹

⁵¹ Thomas, "The Attitude of the Society of Friends toward Slavery in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", etc., *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, VIII, 263-299, especially pp. 277, 283.

⁵² Fox, *A Collection of Many Select and Christian Epistles*, etc. (Philadelphia, 1831), I, 144, epistle 153, "To Friends beyond Sea, that have Blacks and Indian Slaves."

⁵³ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, XIII, 265-270.

⁵⁴ Thomas, p. 269. See also the letter of the yearly meeting of Friends of Pennsylvania, 1754, printed in Clarkson, *History of the Rise, Progress and Abolition of the African Slave-Trade* (London, 1808), I, 142.

⁵⁵ Thomas, p. 287. See also Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, p. 200, for meeting of 1757.

⁵⁶ Thomas, p. 290.

⁵⁷ Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in North Carolina* (Johns Hopkins Univ. Stud. in Hist. and Polit. Sci., series XIV.), pp. 219-220. Cf. Weeks, p. 206.

⁵⁸ Thomas, p. 279. Elihu Coleman, the Quaker preacher of Nantucket, declared (1753) that Friends told their slaves to be Christians and be baptized "and so they do" (*Friends Review*, V, 102). Friends in Newport, R. I., sometimes took their slaves to church with them. Peterson, *History of Rhode Island*, pp. 104-105.

⁵⁹ Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 1748. "The quakers alone scrupled to have slaves: but they are no longer so nice and they have as many negroes as other people." In Pinkerton, *Voyages*, etc. (London, 1812), XIII, 501. See also Sandiford, *Brief Examination*, etc. (1729), as quoted by Moore, *Notes on the*

George Ross reported in 1727 that the Quakers of his parish in Delaware left their slaves, in respect to instruction in the Christian religion, to "the natural light".⁶⁰ Mr. Wetmore declared, February 20, 1727/8, that at Rye, New York, the Quakers in his parish refused to allow slaves religious instruction.⁶¹ It appears, moreover, that slaves were not allowed to participate in the meetings, at least in Pennsylvania.⁶²

The attitude of Puritans and Congregationalists as a whole cannot be easily determined, because of the absence of any general representative body or head. Each church might determine for itself all the questions involved with respect to the relation of its members to slaves. There seems to have been little effort among the early Puritans to Christianize them. John Eliot protested against the treatment of negroes in Massachusetts, and (according to Cotton Mather's report) "had long lamented it with a Bleeding and Burning Passion, that the English used their Negro's but as their Horses or their *Oxen*, and that so little care was taken about their immortal Souls". Eliot declared that masters prevented and hindered their instruction, and proposed that those having negroes within two or three miles of him, should send them to him once a week for catechizing and instruction.⁶³ The Congregational clergy held slaves without scruple, and the town of Suffield, Connecticut, even voted (1726) their pastor, Rev. Mr. Devotion, "£20 towards the purchase of his negroes".⁶⁴ A few churches seem to have taken action against slavery; for example, that of Newport, Rhode Island (1769), under Dr. Samuel Hopkins.⁶⁵ Moreover, slaves were often baptized and admitted to the churches as communicants.⁶⁶ However,

History of Slavery in Massachusetts, pp. 80-81. An indirect endowment of a monthly meeting of Friends in Maryland, 1702, is cited by Thomas, pp. 283-284.

⁶⁰ Perry, *Historical Collections*, etc. (Del.), p. 46.

⁶¹ Bolton, p. 250. For negligence of Quakers in North Carolina see Journal of Benjamin Ferris, the Quaker missionary, in *Friend's Miscellany*, XII, 255-257, and John Woolman's *Journal* (1757, ed. Whittier, 1873), pp. 117-118.

⁶² Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, p. 44.

⁶³ Quoted by Moore, p. 37, note. Cotton Mather accuses masters of neglect, and says they "deride, neglect, and oppose all due means of bringing their poor negroes unto our Lord". *Magnalia*, etc., vol. I., book III. (Hartford, 1855), p. 581; first published in London, 1702. See note 138.

⁶⁴ Trumbull (ed.), *Memorial History of Hartford County*, II, 406. See also Caulkins, *History of Norwich* (1749), p. 328. Negro slaves were owned by such noted clergymen as Rev. John Davenport of New Haven; Rev. Jonathan Edwards of Northampton, Mass.; and Rev. Ezra Stiles of Newport, R. I.; and many others. See Fowler, "Historical Status of the Negro in Connecticut", *Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries*, third series, III, 13.

⁶⁵ Goodell, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery*, etc. (1852), pp. 41-43, about 1760.

⁶⁶ Gillespie, *A Century of Meriden* (Conn.), pt. I., p. 244. Cotton Mather was greatly interested in the conversion and baptism of negro slaves. Cf. his *Diary*, in *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, seventh series, VIII, 379, 442, 478, 532 (1716-1718). Ezra Stiles preached to a meeting of about 40 negroes in Rhode Island, February 19, 1770. See his *Diary*, I, 39, see also pp. 204, 247-248. See note 140.

the fear that freedom might result from baptism is shown by a petition of certain ministers of Massachusetts to the General Court in 1694, asking the passage of a bill expressly denying that baptism conferred freedom, because masters deprived their slaves of this privilege.⁶⁷ In Connecticut (1738) there was a meeting of the "General Association of the Colony", at which an inquiry was made whether infant slaves of Christian masters might be baptized in "their masters right: Provided they Suitably Promise and Engage to bring them up in the Ways of Religion". Another inquiry was whether it was the duty of masters to offer such children and promise as provided for in the first query. To both of these inquiries an affirmative reply was given.⁶⁸

The first Presbyterian church in Philadelphia was organized in 1698. A Presbytery was formed in 1705, and rival synods of New York and Philadelphia existed from 1741 to 1758, when they were united. The right of members to hold slaves was not questioned in any of these bodies, nor did they take official action towards the emancipation or conversion of slaves before 1774.⁶⁹ Individual clergymen, like Samuel Davies, made efforts to Christianize slaves and urged masters to send them to church and have them baptized. Davies himself baptized and admitted slaves as communicants.⁷⁰ The diary of Col. James Gordon, a Presbyterian of Lancaster County, Virginia, shows that slaves attended the church of Mr. Todd; and that some of them were admitted as communicants.⁷¹ In one case at least, a Presbyterian church was presented with a slave as an endowment.⁷²

The Methodists had an early advocate for slavery in the person of George Whitefield, who pleaded with the Georgia Trustees in 1751 to allow the introduction of slaves into Georgia. He had no doubt of the lawfulness of keeping slaves and declared that he would consider himself highly favored if he could "purchase a good number of them, to make their lives comfortable, and lay a founda-

⁶⁷ *Acts and Res. of the Prov. of Mass. Bay*, VII. 537. See note 18.

⁶⁸ *The Records of the General Association of the Colony of Connecticut*, 1738-1799 (Hartford, 1888), p. 6.

⁶⁹ John Robinson, *Testimony and Practice of the Presbyterian Church in Reference to American Slavery*, p. 10. In 1774 a committee was appointed to report on slavery but the synod agreed to defer the matter to their next meeting. It was not until 1787 that definite action opposing slavery was taken. Baird, *Collection of Acts, etc. of the Presbyterian Church* (Philadelphia, 1885), pp. 817-818.

⁷⁰ See his letter of October 2, 1750, Perry, *Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch.* (Va.), pp. 368-371; see also letter of 1756; note 125, *infra*.

⁷¹ *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XI. 109 (1759); XII. 4, 9 (1753), James Wetmore reports, 1727/8, that at Rye, New York, "Some Presbyterians will allow their servants [negroes] to be taught, but are unwilling they should be baptized." Bolton, p. 250.

⁷² *Wm. and Mary Col. Qr.*, XII. 10 (1763).

tion for breeding up their posterity in the nurture and admonition of the Lord".⁷³ Wesleyan Methodism was represented by societies formed in Maryland about 1766. The first conference was held at Philadelphia in 1773, attended by Francis Asbury and nine other English preachers acting under due authority from John Wesley, but no action was taken on slavery.⁷⁴ Individual clergymen, however, were against slavery, like Freeborn Garrettson, who manumitted his slaves;⁷⁵ and especially Francis Asbury, who writes in his *Journal*, June 23, 1776, "after preaching . . . I met the class, and then met the black people, some of whose unhappy masters forbid their coming for religious instruction".⁷⁶

There were comparatively few Baptists and Lutherans in the South before 1774, and fewer still held slaves. We have evidence that one Baptist church in Virginia, in 1758-1759, had admitted them as members.⁷⁷ In 1766 Mr. Barnett, a missionary of the S. P. G., wrote to the secretary from Brunswick, "New light baptists are very numerous in the southern parts of this parish—The most illiterate among them are their Teachers even Negroes speak in their Meetings."⁷⁸ The attitude of the Lutherans is best shown by the Salzburgers who settled in Georgia in 1738. They were at first opponents of slavery;⁷⁹ but owing to the want of suitable white laborers, their pastor Boltzius yielded, on the ground that the negro might be given moral and spiritual advantages.⁸⁰ He expressed joy when his first purchase proved to be "a Catholic Christian". The slaves were given freedom from labor on Sunday, and other church festivals, nor was labor required which would prevent them from attendance upon any week-day service. One of the plans of Boltzius

⁷³ Tyerman, *Life of Whitefield*, II. 272-273, letter dated March 22, 1751. See also his plea for the religious instruction of negroes, in the *New England Weekly Journal*, April 20, 1740.

⁷⁴ *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences annually held in America, 1773-1813* (New York, 1813), I. 5-6. It was not until 1780 that action was taken disapproving slavery. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

⁷⁵ McTyeire, *History of Methodism*, p. 310.

⁷⁶ Asbury, *Journal* (New York, 1852), I. 141. See also Earnest, *The Religious Development of the Negro in Virginia*, p. 48.

⁷⁷ Thom, *Struggle for Religious Freedom in Virginia* (J. H. Univ. Stud. in Hist. and Polit. Sci., ser. XVIII.), pp. 505-507, 515-517; Semple, *History of Baptists* (ed. Beale), pp. 291-292.

⁷⁸ *N. C. Col. Rec.*, VII. 164. A resolve of a Baptist denomination in North Carolina in 1783 gives one of the earliest expressions of opinion of any considerable body of Baptists on the duties of the master of a slave. It is to the effect that he should give slaves liberty to attend "the worship of God in his family" and exhort slaves to this end. Burkitt and Read, *Concise History of the Kehukee Baptist Association* (Halifax, 1803), p. 70.

⁷⁹ Jacobs, *History of Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States*, pp. 150, 167-168; Strobel, *The Salzburgers*, pp. 30, 80, 102-103.

⁸⁰ Jacobs, pp. 167-168; Strobel, p. 104. This was also advised by Urlsperger. "If you take slaves in faith, and with the intent of conducting them to Christ, the action will not be a sin, but may prove a 'benediction'" (*ibid.*).

was to buy a large number of young children and place them in the hands of thoroughly trustworthy Salzburger for religious instruction. He baptized a number of negro children.⁸¹ Heinrich Muhlenberg and his associates in Pennsylvania also endeavored to give negroes religious instruction.⁸²

It thus appears that the dissenting sects were interested to a greater or less extent in the conversion of slaves, and were generally willing to baptize and admit them into their churches. Only the Friends, however, could see any inconsistency in the holding of slaves by church members.⁸³ Though so many forces in State and Church were favorable to the conversion of slaves, progress was nevertheless exceedingly slow, and the results attained at the opening of the Revolution were comparatively meagre. Before tracing the actual progress it may be well to examine the reasons for continued opposition to the conversion of slaves, and consider other hindrances which interfered with the work.

With the introduction of slaves in large numbers, pressing problems of an economic, political, and social nature arose, which influenced masters to continue their opposition to conversion. Of great importance was the belief that religious instruction would impair their economic value. As early as 1680, Morgan Godwyn pointed out that the state of religion in the plantation was very low, and asserted that men knew "No other God but Money, nor Religion but Profit".⁸⁴ A writer in the *Athenian Oracle* says, "Talk to a Planter of the Soul of a Negro, and he'll be apt to tell ye (or at least his Actions speak it loudly) that the Body of one of them may be worth twenty Pounds; but the Souls of an hundred of them would not yield him one Farthing."⁸⁵ Among the principal arguments against conversion of slaves were, first, that it would increase the cost of maintenance. Time would be consumed in instructing them, and especially in their attending church. Sunday labor was common; some masters required their slaves to work on Sunday, as on other days, or compelled them to work for their own support on that day, in order to lessen the cost of maintenance.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Jacobs, p. 168. Compare letter of Boltzius to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, in 1761, in Allen and McClure, *History of S. P. C. K.*, p. 392. In 1774-1775 the church of Ebenezer owned a negro boy and girl, Strobel, pp. 190-191.

⁸² Jacobs, p. 231. Heinrich Muhlenberg baptized 3 negro slaves at New Providence, Pa., in 1745. *Halle Reports* (Philadelphia, 1882, ed. W. J. Mann), p. 57. For the attitude of the Lutherans in New York see Jacobs, p. 119.

⁸³ The attitude of the Moravians, Catholics, and minor denominations is omitted for want of space.

⁸⁴ *The Negro's and Indians Advocate*, p. 39.

⁸⁵ Moore, p. 93, quoting from the *Athenian Oracle*, II. 460-463 (1705).

⁸⁶ *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, V. 26, reports of Mr. Thomas to S. P. G., 1705; Hewatt, I. 354; Bolton, pp. 62-63 (1729). See note 25.

Another and more serious effect of conversion was the alleged change in the attitude and character of slaves. It was asserted that conversion developed notions of religious equality, and made slaves haughty and dissatisfied, and increased the danger of insurrections. The notion was widespread that the converted negro became intractable and ungovernable, because of increased knowledge obtained through religious instruction.⁸⁷ A third objection was on social grounds. The belief was common that imported African negroes were hardly above beasts,⁸⁸ and the appearance of many negroes must have given ground for such a notion. Savages of the lowest types were quite different in appearance and character from the negro of the present generation, so much changed by infusion of white blood and contact with a Christian civilization. From a social standpoint, association with the imported negro was extremely objectionable. To mingle with him in church, or to receive him on terms of equality at the communion table, was not only undesirable but positively dangerous.⁸⁹ Kalm, the Swedish traveller, notes (1748) that masters feared to have their negroes converted because they would grow proud "on seeing themselves upon a level with their masters in religious matters".⁹⁰

Besides the specific reasons mentioned, one must consider those of a more general character. In the colonies where slaves were most numerous, a vital interest in religion was lacking. The form rather than the substance was most emphasized.⁹¹ There was also a lack of clergymen and missionaries to carry on the work, and very often those sent to the colonies were not particularly interested in the welfare of the negro slaves.⁹² In the character of many of the clergy in question one sees still other causes for low religious

⁸⁷ Hugh Jones, *Present State of Virginia* (ed. of 1865), pp. 70-71 (1724); Brickell, *The Natural History of North Carolina* (reprint by J. B. Grimes), pp. 272-274 (1737); Hewatt, pp. 351-352, 355-356; *Abstract, S. P. G.*, 1712-1713, p. 43; Thomas Bacon, *Four Sermons, upon the Great and Indispensable Duty of all Christian Masters and Mistresses to bring up their Negro Slaves in the Knowledge and Fear of God* (London, 1750), pp. 81-82; Samuel Davies, *The Duty of Christians to propagate their Religion among Heathens, earnestly recommended to the Masters of Negroe Slaves in Virginia* (sermon 1757, London, 1758), p. 37. See note 145.

⁸⁸ Godwyn, *Advocate*, etc., pp. 3, 10-13, 40; Humphreys, p. 235; Hewatt, p. 355. See note 113.

⁸⁹ Godwyn, pp. 38, 139-140; *Classified Digest*, p. 15; Brickell, p. 48. The danger from contagious diseases is one of the less-known evils of the slavery system.

⁹⁰ Kalm, p. 503. See also McCrady, "Slavery in South Carolina", *Report*, Am. Hist. Assoc., 1895, p. 644.

⁹¹ Perry (Va.), pp. 323-344; especially 332-334 (letter of Forbes on the state of religion in Virginia in 1724); Hawks, *Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States* (Va.), pp. 86-87, 92 (1722).

⁹² Humphreys, pp. 250-251. The reports of missionaries of the S. P. G. show that comparatively few of them took active interest in the conversion of slaves. See also Bassett, *Slav. and Serv. in N. C.*, pp. 215-216.

life.⁹³ Missionaries and clergymen write of the indifference of masters to their own religious welfare.⁹⁴ If they were not interested in religion for themselves, it is certain that they would not be anxious for the religious welfare of their slaves. Indeed, this indifference on the part of the masters was the occasion for many of the complaints of missionaries. It appeared in several forms. Sometimes masters did not offer positive objection or opposition, but were so little interested that they would not take the time or trouble to give religious instruction themselves,⁹⁵ or encourage their slaves to attend church,⁹⁶ or aid the clergyman or missionary by showing interest in the religious life of the slave after his conversion.⁹⁷ When the masters were positively hostile,⁹⁸ of course nothing could be done by the missionaries. Under such circumstances clergymen who were willing to give part of their time and effort to religious instruction of slaves, were often afraid even to mention the subject, because of the fear of incurring the ill-will of the masters.⁹⁹

A not inconsiderable hindrance to the work was the divided responsibility for religious instruction of slaves. It is evident that this would fall in part on the clergy, in part on the masters. Owing to the large number of negroes, it was usually impossible for the clergyman of a parish to assume the whole burden himself. Bishop Fleetwood's sermon in 1711, and the address of the Bishop of London in 1727, held that masters were responsible for the religious instruction of their slaves.¹⁰⁰ The answers to the latter's queries on this subject (1724) show that the clergy were inclined to place the burden of instruction on their parishioners, while most of the latter who were not opposed, expected the clergy to do all the work.¹⁰¹

Another hindrance to religious instruction of many slaves was their inability to understand, or profit by, the Christian religion,

⁹³ Perry (Va.), Forbes letter, pp. 332-333. Devereux Jarratt wrote John Wesley that there was only one Church of England clergyman in Virginia who was not a reproach to his vocation. Moore, *Sketches of the Pioneers of Methodism in North Carolina and Virginia*, p. 50. See also Hawks (Va.), pp. 88-90; *N. C. Col. Rec.*, VII. 106, letter of Governor Tryon (1765), who wishes "not the sweepings of the Universities . . . but some clergy of character".

⁹⁴ *Classified Digest*, p. 15; Perry, pp. 254-255. Compare the sermon of Samuel Davies (1757), p. 41; Thomas Bacon, *Four Sermons*, 1750, pp. 101, 114-115.

⁹⁵ Perry (Va.), p. 278; (Md.), p. 305; *Abstract, S. P. G.*, 1760-1761 (N. C.), pp. 58-59; *ibid.*, 1739-1740 (S. C.), pp. 56-57.

⁹⁶ Perry (Md., 1731), pp. 306-307; (Va., 1724), p. 267.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* (Va.), p. 289; *N. C. Col. Rec.*, VI. 265 (1760), letter of Mr. Read.

⁹⁸ Perry (Md.), pp. 304-305; Hewatt, p. 352; St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (1770-1781, ed. Blake), pp. 165-166.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ See sermon, February 16, 1710/1 (London, 1711). Humphreys, pp. 257-271.

¹⁰¹ The replies to queries are printed for Virginia and Maryland in Perry, see note 33.

due to mental incapacity, lack of knowledge of the English language, or disinclination to accept a new religion in place of their heathen rites. The question of mental capacity was a matter of some dispute. Many planters, either because of real conviction or for other motives, declared that their negro slaves were only beasts, incapable of instruction, and besides, as some asserted, were without souls.¹⁰² It was quite generally agreed among missionaries that most of the adult imported negroes, "Guinea" negroes as they were often called, could not be converted successfully.¹⁰³ A sharp distinction was drawn, however, between this class and those born in the colonies. Not only were the former stupid, but many adult imported negroes failed to learn the English language well enough to appreciate or profit by religious instruction, a fact frequently commented on by the clergy.¹⁰⁴ On the other hand, those born in the country were considered more intelligent, and generally could learn English well enough for such purposes.¹⁰⁵ Perhaps the statement of Mr. Williamson, rector of St. Paul's, Kent County, Maryland (1731), describes a condition on many plantations. He divides negroes into three classes: first, those so grossly ignorant that there was no possibility of successful religious instruction; second, those capable, that is, able to answer questions of the church catechism, but so egregiously wicked as to render baptism ineffectual; third, those duly qualified and of exemplary lives.¹⁰⁶

The character and environment of the average negro slave was an almost insuperable obstacle to his conversion. One should remember that the negro brought with him from Africa conceptions of morality, truthfulness, and rights of property, usually quite out of harmony with the teachings of Christianity. Then, too, conditions inherent in the slavery system hindered his moral and religious progress, even if he were well disposed towards conversion. Severe punishments, usually the result of his own conduct, excessively hard physical labor, and the practical reduction of the slave to a mere chattel, led to a life of deception, in order to avoid labor and punishment.¹⁰⁷ The environment of most slaves was hostile to a normal

¹⁰² See note 88.

¹⁰³ Perry (Va.), pp. 264-265; *Abstract, S. P. G.*, 1740-1741, p. 63; Brickell, p. 272; Hugh Jones, p. 71; *Journal of House of Burgesses* (Va.), May 23, 1694. This is disputed by Hugh Jones, *op. cit.*; by Thomas Bacon, pp. 90-91; and by Samuel Davies, pp. 33-34. See note 113.

¹⁰⁴ Perry (Va.), p. 283; (Md.), p. 227.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* (Md.), p. 192; (Va.), p. 312; *Abstract, S. P. G.*, 1723-1724 (S. C.), pp. 41-42; Brickell, p. 272.

¹⁰⁶ Perry (Md.), p. 305; see also Hugh Jones, pp. 70-71; Bacon, p. 93.

¹⁰⁷ For these points see a description of the religious condition of the negro slave in Maryland in Thomas Bacon, *Two Sermons preached to a Congregation of Black Slaves* (London, 1749), pp. 50-55, 64.

religious life. There was little direct religious instruction on the plantations, while the conversations which a slave heard and the scenes that were frequently enacted before his eyes, in his one-room shack called "home", were for the most part positively evil influences.¹⁰⁸ The almost universal immoral relations between the sexes, unchecked by laws to safeguard the institution of marriage; indeed the encouragement of polygamy and fornication, because of the law that the issue of a slave-mother remained a slave—all provided an environment almost as bad as could be imagined.

But even if the factors which have been mentioned had been favorable to the conversion of the slaves, the physical conditions in the Southern, and to a considerable extent in the Middle, colonies, would have been a great obstacle to the success of this work. The extent of territory often included in a Southern parish,¹⁰⁹ and the fact that plantations were ordinarily at considerable distances from each other, made it very difficult for the clergy to visit families, or for slaves to attend church or assemble easily at one place for religious instruction. Even as late as 1761 a missionary of the S. P. G. in North Carolina writes that most of the negroes of his parish were heathen, "it being very impossible for the Ministers in such extensive Parishes to perform their more immediate Duties in them, and find time sufficient for those poor Creatures Instructions, and very few if any of their masters will take the least Pains about it".¹¹⁰ Some of the colonies passed acts which hindered the Christianization of slaves, such as laws to prevent them from assembling in numbers, at places outside their master's plantation.¹¹¹ Even where there were laws to the contrary, the working of slaves on Sunday¹¹² was a common practice. In both cases the opportunity of the slave to meet for religious purposes was more or less restricted.

Keeping in mind the two groups of factors which promoted and

¹⁰⁸ Bacon, *Two Sermons*, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ See answers of the clergy of Virginia and Maryland, 1724, note 33, above.

¹¹⁰ *Abstract, S. P. G.*, 1760-1761, pp. 58-59. Cf. Thomas Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 128. See also Davies, *The State of Religion among the Protestant Dissenters in Virginia*; in a *Letter to the Reverend Joseph Bellamy*, etc. (Boston, 1751), p. 23.

¹¹¹ Compare *Arch. of Md.*, XIX, 149, 157 (1695); Bacon, *Laws of Md.*, act of 1723, ch. XV.; McCord, *Stat. of S. C.*, VII, 352 (1712); *ibid.*, p. 386 (1735); *Ga. Col. Rec.*, XVIII, 135 (1735). Such acts, however, did not ordinarily prevent slaves attending church with their master's consent, Allinson, *Acts of Gen. Assem. of N. J.*, 1702-1776, pp. 191-192; and the Virginia act of 1723, though prohibiting assemblies, specifically forbids masters from prohibiting their slaves attending church on Sunday, Henning, *Stat. of Va.* (Richmond ed.), IV, 129, and repeated in 1748, *ibid.*, VI, 108; see also *Arch. of Md.*, XXV, 57. An act of North Carolina, 1715, forbade anyone to allow slaves to build a meeting-house on his land for the purpose of worship. *St. Rec. of N. C.*, XXIII, 65.

¹¹² On Sunday laws and labor see notes 25, 26, 86.

hindered the conversion of slaves, we may now consider the progress made before the Revolution. The testimony of Morgan Godwyn in 1680, and that of David Humphreys in 1730, agree to the effect that the state of religion in the Southern colonies was very low. If this was true of the white inhabitants, then the situation of the slaves must have been still worse. A declaration of the House of Burgesses of Virginia in 1699 denies that religious progress is possible in the case of *imported* negroes, because of the "Gros Barbarity and rudeness of their Manners, the variety and Strangeness of their Language and the weakness and shallowness of their Minds."¹¹³ In North Carolina Mr. Taylor reported in 1719 that masters were on the whole opposed to the conversion, baptism, and salvation of their slaves,¹¹⁴ and other missionaries make the same complaint.¹¹⁵ The letters from Mr. Thomas, 1703-1706, show that there were about 1000 slaves in the colony of South Carolina at this time, but he reports only four as Christianized and one baptized.¹¹⁶ Rev. Mr. Pownal reported in 1722 that there were about seven hundred slaves in his parish (Christ Church) a few of whom understood English, but very few "knew any Thing of God or Religion";¹¹⁷ and Mr. Hesell of St. Thomas Parish wrote in 1723/4 that there were 1100 negroes and Indian slaves and twenty free negroes in his parish, with "about 12 negroes baptiz'd, some of them free, and some Slaves".¹¹⁸

The first extensive survey of the religious conditions of negroes in the Southern colonies was made in 1724, when the Bishop of London sent queries to the clergy respecting the condition of the parishes. One of these queries reads, "Are there any infidels, bond or free, within your parish and what means are used for their conversion?"¹¹⁹ An analysis of the replies from twenty-nine parishes in Virginia shows that slaves were accustomed to attend church in eleven of them, but in most cases only a few were allowed this privilege, largely those born in this country who understood English. Likewise comparatively few were given religious instruction. According to nine replies, a few of the masters undertook the work themselves, and a few allowed the clergy to do so, espe-

¹¹³ *Journal of the House of Burgesses*, May 22, 1699.

¹¹⁴ *N. C. Col. Rec.*, II, 332.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 720, 858; II, 153.

¹¹⁶ "Letters of Samuel Thomas", missionary of S. P. G., *S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, IV, 278-283; V, 21-55 ("Documents concerning Mr. Thomas, 1702-1707").

¹¹⁷ Humphreys, p. 111.

¹¹⁸ *Abstract, S. P. G.*, 1723-1724, p. 40. Cf. Mr. Read's report for Craven County, N. C.; he was "afraid most of the Negroes [about a thousand] may too justly be reckoned Heathens". *Ibid.*, 1760-1761, pp. 58-59.

¹¹⁹ See note 33.

cially in the case of the more intelligent; but it appears certain that the great bulk of the slaves neither attended church nor received religious instruction. A still smaller number were baptized and made communicants.¹²⁰ On the whole it appears that the sentiment of masters towards Christianization of slaves was distinctly hostile in about one-third of the parishes reported, hostile in the remainder for imported negroes and those who understood little English, and favorable for a few of their slaves who they believed might profit thereby. A petition from various persons, urging the Christianization of negro children "borne in this Country", was presented to the House of Burgesses in 1723, but the report of the committee to whom it was referred reads, "Resolved that the same be rejected being at present impracticable."¹²¹

Replies from South Carolina are available from eight parishes.¹²² In St. James (Santee) parish, it is declared that there are many slaves, but only one negro man is mentioned as a Christian. In St. John's parish there were "no means used for their Conversion". In St. Philip's parish there were about 2000 black and Indian slaves, but "no means are used for their Conversion". In St. James (Goose Creek) parish there were about 2000 negro slaves, but the rector reports that "the best means are used for their Conversion which the present posture of affairs will admit of which will I hope hereafter have a more prosperous aspect than at present". In Christ Church parish there were about 700 negro slaves "all of them in Infidelity. Both public preaching and private exhortation I have used with their Owners, but all those methods at present are ineffectual." In St. Andrew's parish, though there were a great number of slaves, "all the means I use for their conversion is to show their Masters their obligations, but few or none will be prevailed on". In St. Dennis parish the rector replied: "All Infidels in my Parish are Bond Servants and their Masters will not consent to have them instructed." In Dorchester, St. George's parish it is stated, "I have hitherto endeavored in vain to prevail with their masters to convince them of the necessity of having their slaves made Christians." It will be seen that these reports for South Carolina are much more discouraging than those of Virginia or Maryland, a

¹²⁰ Baptism occurred in 17 parishes but numbers were small and many of these were infants. Communicants are mentioned in two parishes.

¹²¹ *Journal of House of Burgesses*, May 17, 1723, pp. 368, 370. See also the proposition sent to the Bishop of London in 1724, outlining a plan for the conversion of negroes. Perry (Va.), p. 344. The replies from the clergy of Maryland in 1724 and 1731 show that the religious condition of the negroes was very similar to that of Virginia. See note 33.

¹²² The replies are not printed, but may be found in the Hawks MSS., volume for South Carolina. For mention of this material see *Report, Am. Hist. Assoc.*, 1898, pp. 59-60.

situation that was apparently maintained throughout the colonial period.

From 1724 to 1776 there was less opposition on the part of masters towards both conversion and baptism, and a larger number of conversions and baptisms are reported than in the earlier period. But it must be remembered that in the later period the increase in the slave population was very large, especially by importation. The figures seem to show that there was no very great increase in the proportionate number of slaves Christianized. The letters of Samuel Davies and other Presbyterian ministers in Virginia, 1750-1761, show some progress. Davies reports in 1750 that there were as many as a thousand negroes in Virginia converted and baptized, about one hundred belonging to Presbyterians.¹²³ In this same letter he writes that he himself had baptized forty in a year and a half, and had admitted seven or eight to full communion.¹²⁴ In 1756 he said "the Protestant dissenters lie under an odium in this colony—yet the Negroes in these parts are freely allowed to attend upon my ministry";¹²⁵ but he laments "upon the almost universal neglect of the many thousand of poor slaves . . . who generally continue Heathens in a Christian Country".¹²⁶ So a report of a yearly meeting of Friends in Virginia (1764) declared that "more care should be taken to instruct negroes in the Christian religion".¹²⁷ Other evidence points in the same direction.¹²⁸

In South Carolina we may judge of progress from a letter of Rev. Mr. Harrison (1759) of St. James (Goose Creek) parish, who said that he had two hundred families in his parish, and his congregation generally consisted of 150 whites and fifty to sixty negroes. His communicants numbered thirty-one whites and twenty-six negroes.¹²⁹ The inhabitants of this parish were, however, un-

¹²³ Perry (Va.), p. 369. The slave population of the colonies is here given for two dates, approximately 1755 and 1775. For 1755 we have in Maryland, 46,225, Virginia, 116,000, North Carolina, 20,000, South Carolina, 45,000, Georgia, 2,000—total 229,225. For 1775 we have in Maryland, 70,000, Virginia, 200,000, North Carolina, 45,000, South Carolina, 110,000, Georgia, 15,000—total, 440,000. There were about 29,000 slaves in the Middle Colonies, and 16,000 in New England in 1775. These estimates are based on those of Dexter, "Estimates of Population in the American Colonies", in *Proceedings*, Am. Antiq. Soc., new series, V, 22-50. They must be recognized as only approximately correct, for accurate figures are unobtainable.

¹²⁴ Perry (Va.), p. 369. See also Mr. Gavin's letter telling of his success in St. James's parish, Goochland, 1738. He reports 172 blacks baptized. *Ibid.*, p. 360.

¹²⁵ *Letters from the Rev. Samuel Davies and others, showing the State of Religion in Virginia particularly among the Negroes*, etc. (second ed., London, 1757), p. 20. Letter to J. F., March 2, 1756.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22. See also Davies's sermon, p. 8, note 87, *supra*.

¹²⁷ Thomas, p. 288.

¹²⁸ *E. g.*, Benjamin Ferris expressed a similar opinion; see Weeks, p. 202; see also note 61.

¹²⁹ *Abstract*, S. P. G., 1759-1760, pp. 61-62.

usually favorable to the conversion of slaves. Rev. Mr. Clark, rector of St. Philip's, Charleston, said in 1757/8 that there was great negligence among white people respecting the religious education of negroes, and laments that there was not one "Civil Establishment in the Colony for the Christian Instruction of fifty Thousand negroe Slaves". He says, moreover, that the duties of the clergy, "besides many other Difficulties and Obstructions" prevent them from remedying the evil.¹³⁰ Hewatt writes discouragingly of conditions in South Carolina at the opening of the Revolution. He says that the negro slaves were "excluded in a manner from the pale of the Christian Church"; that the S. P. G. had, a few years before, "no less than twelve missionaries in Carolina with instructions to give all assistance in their power for this laudable purpose; but it is well known, that the fruit of their labors has been very small and inconsiderable".¹³¹

In the Middle Colonies and in New England we are concerned with a very much smaller number of slaves throughout the period. However, much the same opposition to conversion came from masters;¹³² and progress was not marked. Although there were about 1400 negroes and Indian slaves in New York City (1725/6),¹³³ the catechist of the S. P. G. writes that from 1732 to 1740 but 219 had been baptized, only twenty-four of whom were adults.¹³⁴ In 1770 thirty communicants were reported.¹³⁵ The replies¹³⁶ made in 1724 from seven parishes in New York show considerable opposition to conversion as in Rye and Staten Island, with very few reported as baptized or as communicants,¹³⁷ and later reports do not indicate much improvement.¹³⁸ In New England the early period shows negligence,¹³⁹ though after 1730 reports are somewhat more favorable.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁰ *Abstract, S. P. G.*, 1757-1758, p. 50.

¹³¹ Hewatt, pp. 353-354. For progress in North Carolina, 1735-1776, see Bassett, pp. 215-216; cf. also Brickell, p. 274; also note 151.

¹³² Perry (Pa.), p. 165 (1728), cf. also pp. 184, 196.

¹³³ *Abstract, S. P. G.*, 1725-1726, pp. 37-38.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1740-1741, pp. 71-72. An excellent account of the Catechizing School of the S. P. G. in New York City is found in Kemp, ch. IX.; see note 39.

¹³⁵ *Abstract, S. P. G.*, 1770-1771, p. 24.

¹³⁶ The replies from some of these parishes are printed, e. g., Westchester, Rye, and New Rochelle, in Bolton, *Hist. of the Ch. in Westchester Co.*, pp. 47-49, 227-230, 436-437; Hempstead, in *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, XXII. 131; and Jamaica, *Documentary History of New York* (1850), III. 185-187. The replies for other parishes (New York and Staten Island) may be found in the Hawks MSS., volume for New York. See note 122.

¹³⁷ Bolton, pp. 250, 256, 258, 266, for period 1727-1735; Humphreys, pp. 209, 213.

¹³⁸ Cf. Bolton, pp. 77, 84 (1764-1769).

¹³⁹ See note 63, and *Col. Rec. Conn.*, 1678-1689, p. 298; answers to queries, 1680.

¹⁴⁰ See note 66, and *Abstract, S. P. G.*, 1740/1-1741/2, p. 41; and 1746-1747, p. 52; McSparran, *Letter Book and Abstract of Out Services* (Boston, 1899), pp. 4-25 (catechizing and baptism of negroes, R. I., 1743-1751).

This survey of the colonies points to the conclusion that the number of slaves who were even nominal Christians bore a small proportion to the total number, while it is certain that a very much smaller number can be said to have lived Christian lives. It is evident that the comparatively few clergymen and missionaries who took an interest in the conversion of slaves, could make little impression on the whole slave population. This threw the main responsibility on the masters; but the testimony respecting their general hostility or negligence is almost unanimous, from both the clergy and other witnesses. Moreover, in considering the figures based on reports of the clergy some discount must be made, due to their well-known enthusiasm for favorable accounts of conversion, church attendance, etc., and the fact that many of the baptisms mentioned were those of infants.¹⁴¹ We should also remember that a Christian life was not a necessary result of this ceremony. Then, too, the tendency of the clergy of the established church to rely on outward forms rather than inward regeneration, as a test of Christianity, is too well known to need comment.¹⁴² Those who described their methods usually laid stress on ability to say the creed, repeat the ten commandments, or the catechism, as the main test for baptism.¹⁴³ The actual effect of nominal, or even real, conversion upon the conduct of slaves was in dispute. Many asserted that conversion made them worse than before.¹⁴⁴ On the other hand there is contrary evidence, though much of this is theoretical rather than concrete.¹⁴⁵ It must be admitted that the conditions which often surrounded the negro slave made it very difficult for him to lead a real Christian life.

It is impossible to assert how many slaves were even nominally converted. David Humphreys, the historian of the S. P. G., reported in 1730 that some hundreds had been converted.¹⁴⁶ Dean Berkeley said in 1731: "The religion of these people [slaves], as is natural to suppose, takes after that of their masters. Some few are baptized, several frequent the different assemblies, and far the greater part none at all."¹⁴⁷ Peter Kalm, the Swedish traveller,

¹⁴¹ *Abstract, S. P. G.*, 1752-1753, p. 51 (N. C.); *ibid.*, 1754-1755 (N. Y.), p. 48; *ibid.*, 1759-1760 (N. Y.), p. 47.

¹⁴² See note 91.

¹⁴³ Cf. letter of Mr. Taylor, missionary of S. P. G. to North Carolina, 1716, *N. C. Col. Rec.*, II. 332; Perry (Md.), pp. 306-307; *Abstract, S. P. G.*, 1753-1754, p. 55; *Classified Digest*, pp. 15-16. Cf. also Davies, *Duties of Christians to propagate their Religion*, etc., pp. 38-39.

¹⁴⁴ See note 87.

¹⁴⁵ Godwyn, pp. 125-127; ^{Hugh} Jones, pp. 70-71; Hewatt, pp. 355-356; Moore, *Notes on Hist. of Slav. in Mass.* (quoting writer in *Athenian Oracle*), p. 94.

¹⁴⁶ Humphreys, p. 233.

¹⁴⁷ Sermon before S. P. G. (1731) quoted in Updike, *Hist. of Episc. Ch. in Narragansett, R. I.* (1847), p. 177.

declared in 1748: "It is likewise greatly to be pitied that the masters of the Negroes in most of the English Colonies take little care of their Spiritual welfare and let them live on in their pagan darkness."¹⁴⁸

We must conclude from all the evidence that the struggle between the contending forces had on the whole resulted in a victory for those which were antagonistic to the conversion of negroes. John Griffith, a Quaker missionary to Virginia, declared in 1765: "It is too manifest to be denied, that the life of religion is almost lost where slaves are very numerous; and it is impossible it should be otherwise, the practice being as contrary to the spirit of christianity as light is to darkness."¹⁴⁹ If Griffith's observation is true, then the institution of slavery must be considered a primary cause, not only in greatly hindering the conversion of the negroes, but also, where slaves were numerous, in preventing important religious advances among the whites. Thus the heart of the difficulty is apparent. As one missionary states, "It can hardly be expected that those should promote the spiritual welfare of this meanest branch of their families who think but little (if at all) of their own eternal salvation."¹⁵⁰

The reasons for the failure of the clergy and missionaries to accomplish more, have been well expressed by Hewatt in accounting for conditions in South Carolina at the opening of the Revolution. He says:

Whether their small success ought to be ascribed to the rude and untractable dispositions of the negroes, to the discouragements and obstructions thrown in the way by their owners, or to the negligence and indolence of the missionaries themselves, we cannot pretend to determine. Perhaps we may venture to assert, that it has been more or less owing to all these different causes. One thing is very certain, that the negroes of that country, a few only excepted, are to this day as great strangers to Christianity, and as much under the influence of Pagan darkness, idolatry and superstition, as they were at their first arrival from Africa.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Kalm, *Travels in North America* (ed. 1770), I. 397.

¹⁴⁹ Weeks, p. 203; see also note 91. So Samuel Fothergill describes conditions in Maryland, 1756. "Maryland is poor; the gain of oppression, the price of blood is upon that province . . . I mean their purchasing, and keeping in slavery, negroes, the ruin of true religion the world over, wherever it prevails." Crossfield, *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labors of Samuel Fothergill*, p. 282, letter dated November 9, 1756. See also for North Carolina, *ibid.*, p. 283.

¹⁵⁰ Perry (Pa.), p. 184.

¹⁵¹ Hewatt, *op. cit.*, p. 354. The latest book dealing with the education of the negro is that by C. G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro prior to 1861* (New York, 1915). Chapter II. deals specifically with the religious education of the negro before the Revolution. See also original documents in appendix, pp. 337-359, and bibliographies, pp. 399-434.

It is evident that much of the difficulty lay in the system of slavery itself. The lack of a sufficient number of earnest workers was a second great difficulty. But much greater progress could undoubtedly have been made but for the low state of religion among the masters and the positive hostility to conversion of slaves on the part of a large number of them. One of the chief reasons for this opposition seems to have been economic in character. Thus one can understand how ideals growing out of a desire for material gain triumphed, for the most part, over those religious and moral in character. In explanation of this economic reason it must be recognized that many were convinced that the conversion of slaves would inevitably lead to increased demands from the negro for equality—religious, social, and political—a situation that would not only reduce the economic value of the slave, but might seriously endanger those conventions between master and slave which were deemed necessary for effective control. Thus fundamentally the contest between the opposing forces involved, in the opinion of many, the life of the institution of slavery itself, and perhaps the very existence of Southern society so far as it was based on this system.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

INFLUENCES WHICH DETERMINED THE FRENCH
GOVERNMENT TO MAKE THE TREATY
WITH AMERICA, 1778

THE motives of the French government for making an alliance with the United States in the midst of the American Revolution are assumed to be too well known to be worth further examination. The French historian Doniol wrote five great folio volumes, fully annotated, impressively documented, and representing an investigation pushed into every cranny of the French archives, and with some excursions into Spanish, English, and Prussian diplomatic pigeonholes. Half a dozen minor works, dealing with Franklin, Lafayette, and Franco-American diplomacy of the period, have been dug out of Doniol's vast quarry, and before his time Bancroft had diligently searched the muniments of Europe to solve the problems of Revolutionary diplomacy. Yet in spite of all this pursuit of alluring but ever fugitive truth, I believe the seductive goddess has eluded them all. There are two apparent reasons, one of which is that the essential parts of the key document had not been used by Doniol in his monumental work, and the second is that the very profusion of his material caused him to overlook motives actually revealed in his documents, but unheeded because they did not fall in with his preconceived ideas. He could not see the woods for the trees.

In the diplomatic history of the relations between France and America, there are two vital problems to solve. The first is the motive of France for giving secret aid to the American cause almost from the beginning of the armed conflict with Great Britain. There is no mystery about that, for so large and obvious are the historical facts, that he who runs may read.¹ The second problem is more shrouded in the mists of human motives, court intrigues, and diplomatic craft. Why did the French government, already overwhelmed with debt, abandon the policy of secret aid to the Americans which had been so rich in results, which had cost so little, and which seemed to be entirely successful, for a policy which meant certain war, and probable financial ruin, even if the war were won?

To make clear what is *not* sought in this investigation, let me

¹ Nevertheless it remained for Professor E. S. Corwin to state and elucidate them in the most convincing and accurate form in his article in the *American Historical Review*, October, 1915.

state briefly the French motive for giving secret aid. The basic reasons for French antipathy to England lay, of course, centuries back of the Revolution. These had been accentuated by the terms of the treaty of Paris (1763), which closed the Seven Years' War. This war began, asserted Choiseul, when England "threw at its feet the most sacred rules of equity, the most inviolable maxims of the rights of nations". "All the powers of Europe were alarmed at the scandalous rupture." "Its purpose was to invade France's American colonies, drive France from that continent, and seize all its commerce there." "But even this did not bound its ambitions." "It proposed to seize all of Louisiana, to penetrate by this way to New Mexico, and thus open for itself gradually the road to all the Spanish possessions." This was Cromwell's dream. "Indeed, they would go further. They would stifle our marine in its birth, rule the sea alone and without a rival."² The humiliating peace of 1763 was bought, said Choiseul, "at the price of our possessions, of our commerce and of our credit in the Indies; at the price of Canada, Louisiana, Isle Royale, Acadia, and Senegal."³

England [declared the eager minister to the frivolous sovereign, who was more easily moved by the charms of Madame de Pompadour than by the interests of his empire] England is, and will ever be, the declared enemy of your power, and of your state. Her avidity in commerce, the haughty tone she takes in the world's affairs, her jealousy of your power, the intrigues which she has made against you, make us foresee that centuries will pass before you can make a durable peace with that country which aims at supremacy in the four quarters of the globe.⁴

From 1763 on, Choiseul was the "Cato the Elder" of France, urging ceaselessly that England must be destroyed.

When Choiseul fell and Vergennes rose to power, the new minister had the same policy toward England. When the British colonies rebelled, Vergennes was eager to aid them. England, he said, in a memoir to Louis XVI. and his ministry, is the natural enemy of France. "She is an enemy at once grasping, ambitious, unjust, and perfidious. The invariable and most cherished purpose in her politics has been, if not the destruction of France at least her overthrow, her humiliation, and her ruin." "She is a restless and greedy nation, more jealous of the prosperity of her neighbors than concerned for her own happiness."⁵ "It is our duty then to seize

² Paris, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, *Mémoires et Documents*, France, vol. 581, fols. 3, 4.

³ Doniol, *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique*, I, 2.

⁴ Aff. Étr., Mém. et Doc., France, vol. 581, fol. 41.

⁵ Archives Nationales, K, 164, dossier 3, no. 2^e.

every possible opportunity to reduce the power and the greatness of England." If they are foolish enough to exhaust their finances and to engulf themselves in a civil war, why should we interrupt them? Let us quietly watch them consume themselves.⁶ Again he declared earnestly, "Here is the time marked out by Providence, to deliver the universe from a greedy tyrant, who is absorbing all power and all wealth."⁷ Besides this motive of revenge, Vergennes's memoir and many others of the time dwell upon the fact that the fundamental economic interests of the French nation were at stake. The outcome of this struggle of England with her colonies would determine, they all assert, whether France should share in the commerce of America.

There were differences of opinion in the French cabinet, and the only policy that could be agreed upon, was that of giving secret aid. Turgot had convinced the king that while France could stand war if absolutely necessary, yet it should be avoided as the greatest of evils. Unless it was put off for a long time, it would prevent forever a reform absolutely necessary for French prosperity. "His Majesty knows", said Turgot, "that in spite of the economies and improvements already made since the beginning of his reign, there is between the income and the expense a difference of twenty millions." "The military and the marine is", he said, "in a state of weakness which it is hard to imagine."⁸ Secret aid was not entirely to the king's taste, but it was not over costly, and the royal conscience was salved by the insinuation that a precedent for it had been set by England in Corsica, when that island, a French province, was in rebellion. St. Germain, the secretary of war, had commended the idea.⁹ Vergennes had argued that it would keep up American courage and hopes, and Beaumarchais was passionately eager to execute the plan. On May 2, 1776, Vergennes placed in the king's hands a scheme for expending in America's aid a million livres, by a device so wrapped in mystery, so secret in its administration, that no British spies would ever detect it.¹⁰ Spain was to be asked to double this amount. Beaumarchais, in the guise of Hortalez and Company, began supplying the Americans with every manufactured article which that bucolic people so sadly lacked—powder, guns,

⁶ Doniol, I. 243-249.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I. 273-278. See Wharton, *The Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, II. 289, where Franklin expresses the idea that all nations of Europe wish to see England humbled.

⁸ Arch. Nat., K, 1340, no. 10, p. 53.

⁹ Aff. Étr., Correspondance Politique, Angleterre, vol. 515, fols. 179-180.

¹⁰ Arch. Nat., K, 164, no. 3 (Vergennes Corres., no. 9). Some of the documents referred to in this article and designated in the archives may be in Doniol, but I have not found them there and have used my copy made from the original in the archives.

clothes, drums, fifes, medicines of every sort, surgical instruments, and even cannons with the Louis XVI. monogram graven upon them.

We cannot here tell the story of French approaches to the Continental Congress, how that body was encouraged to accredit envoys to France, and to send its privateers into French ports with their prizes. If we enumerate the duties of a neutral, we shall find that France violated nearly every one of them. Vergennes was even confronted by affidavits sworn on "the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God" that in the French islands, English sailors captured by American privateers were held in French prisons and dying by "inch-meal".¹¹ Yet he never hesitated to trail England along with promises, evasions, and unblushing denials of facts plain as holy writ. Vergennes's correspondence with Stormont, the British minister, and with Beaumarchais, the French agent in American affairs, convinces one that had he enjoyed the ambidexterity which tradition attributes to Caesar, he would not have hesitated to write with one hand to the British government protesting his regard for the obligations of a neutral, asserting the friendship, good feeling, and peaceful intention of the King of France, while with the other hand he gave written orders to Beaumarchais to render the Americans every possible assistance. On one occasion Stormont asked the French government to restore prizes brought into French ports by American privateers. Vergennes answered, "You cannot expect us to take upon our shoulders the burden of your war; every wise nation places its chief security in its own vigilance." Stormont retorted, "The eyes of Argus would not be too much for us." Whereupon the astute Vergennes replied with unction, "And if you had those eyes, they would only show you our sincere desire of peace." Stormont said that even the French officers were hurrying to America. "Yes", suavely returned Vergennes, "the French nation has a turn for adventure."¹² Vergennes knew that an emollient answer turneth away wrath—especially when the recipient is chiefly anxious to save his face, and will prefer a palpable lie to an acknowledgment of a truth, which could have no other result than a war which England, just then, was anxious to avoid.

This was the state of the diplomatic relations of England and France in respect to America, when the news of Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga came over the sea to work its miraculous conversion. France was not long in exchanging peace and secret aid

¹¹ *Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., Angleterre*, vol. 526, fol. 20, note.

¹² Bancroft, *History of the United States* (ed. 1866), IX, 286.

for war and open assistance to the American cause. We cannot know all that went on within the ivory towers of French diplomacy, but the reasons for this alliance must have been very strong, since the king and cabinet had been obdurate to every argument for eighteen months preceding the day when they seem to have seen a great light. Since the appearance of Doniol's exhaustive study all writers have drawn their explanations from his plethoric pages,¹³ following their historical bell-wether with Arcadian innocence, and all seem to have come from his account with much the same impression. Two points are dwelt upon, one that the Saratoga victory seemed to promise ultimate American success, and the other that the French government was fearful lest Great Britain should acknowledge American independence, and France thus lose American gratitude. In unemphasized passages of contemporary material quoted by Doniol, other motives appear, but these are the reasons which the author's treatment brings to the fore.

The most important document for interpreting the motives of the French government was used only in part by Doniol when he wrote his account.¹⁴ In a collection in the French Foreign Office entitled "*Mémoires et Documents*", so filled with meaningless, insignificant papers as to discourage the most faithful investigator, this key document was found by Mr. W. G. Leland, while making his guide to the materials for American history in the Archives of Paris. This document is a memoir by Vergennes on the foreign policy of France after 1774, addressed to the king in 1782, when Vergennes had been attacked by his enemies at court.¹⁵ A translation of its essential parts reads as follows:

The news of the surrender of Burgoyne produced in England an almost unanimous demand that peace should be made with America and war with France. Soon the echoes of this were heard in the British Parliament. The ablest members composing it were inclined to recognize the Independence of America and to make with it a league like that which Your Majesty has with the ruling house in Spain. This uniting the interests of the two people would make them as one in peace and

¹³ Doniol nowhere makes a brief, definite statement of the motives which he thinks determined the French government, but one is left to make up one's mind from a medley of vague statements, long quotations filled with a variety of matters, and partial conclusions which change from page to page.

¹⁴ Years after, Doniol wrote a brief work entitled *Politiques d'Autrefois: le Comte de Vergennes et P. M. Hennin, 1749-1787* (Paris, Colin, 1898). In this Doniol uses more of the Vergennes memoir in question, but does not even there use it all or point out its significance. In his great work *La Participation de la France*, etc., V. 187, he quotes briefly from some unessential parts of this document but uses it only to show that Vergennes felt called upon in 1782 to defend his policy.

¹⁵ The old partizans of Choiseul, Breteuil, ambassador to Austria, and Castries, minister of the marine.

war, and France would have to pay the price of this sacrifice. . . . The minister, Lord North, obtained from the majority a commission to be sent to America with great powers, to make a sort of preliminary examination of the ground as to American independence. If resistance seemed to be invincible, they might cede to America what it seemed no longer possible to take from it. All the negotiations which the British ministry attempted meanwhile through its agents with the American representatives residing in Paris, betrayed a disposition not far from complete surrender of their independence. They asked of the Americans only the semblance of dependence, a nominal dependence, provided they would unite with England against France. They would allow them the most extended exercise of all other sovereign rights. From the moment that we were able to perceive this disposition, war with England appeared inevitable whatever part Your Majesty might take, and the question reduced itself to knowing whether it was more expedient to have war for the purpose of upholding America or to wait until England united with America should begin it. This question of which the answer seemed easy was nevertheless discussed for a long time and thoroughly examined in different memoirs which were then submitted to Your Majesty. You examined them yourself and caused them to be discussed by those of your ministers whom you found it good to call to this important deliberation. I humbly pray you to recall that when it was a question of deciding whether we should treat with the Americans, Monsieur le Comte de Maurepas, urged by Your Majesty to make known his opinion, asked to be excused. He pointed out that the matter having been so carefully weighed and discussed in the memoirs and deliberations, it was for Your Majesty in your wisdom to decide, and that the ministry had only to await your orders and to execute them.¹⁶

Herein we note two new ideas, first, that the French ministry thought England was about to offer independence to America on condition of America uniting with England against France, and second, that as a result France was confronted by the necessity of war in any case, against England and America together as one horn of the dilemma, or with America against England as the other. This document is of course merely a reminiscent defense of a policy, and is therefore subject to two criticisms. Written to defend the author against the attacks of his enemies, it must be subject to the suspicion of distorting facts to make his case. Since it is dated five or six years after the events it narrates, we must beware of the tricks of the human memory. We shall therefore bring its assertions to the test of contemporary material. Before turning to that process, it should be noted that the general thesis of Vergennes's memoir is sustained or partially so in brief statements, almost contemporary, by Rayneval, Auberteuil, and Condorcet,¹⁷ while

¹⁶ *Aff. Étr.*, *Mém. et Doc.*, vol. 446, fol. 355.

¹⁷ Rayneval, in a *Notice Biographique sur le Comte de Vergennes* dated 1782 (in *Aff. Étr.*, *Mém. et Doc.*, France, vol. 446, fol. 359, and vol. 584, fol. 93—here the date is 1788), says "Après ayant acquis la certitude que le ministère

the French historian Droz, writing in 1858, and Henri Martin, following Droz, got this same idea from some source we know not of. But all American and English historians fail to grasp this idea of the terrible dilemma with which the French cabinet imagined itself confronted.

Vergennes had been haunted with the bogey from 1776 on, that as a result of America's struggle for independence, France and Spain would lose their West Indian possessions. It was Beaumarchais's fine Italian hand that first planted this thorn which never ceased to worry Vergennes until the war was ended. Though Figaro was only a creature of Beaumarchais's fancy, the intriguing author was a remarkable embodiment of his own imaginary hero. He dwelt with comfort in the house of diplomacy, which has been called the chosen abode of lies. On his return from England after his curious adventure with the mysterious Chevalier d'Eon, Beaumarchais informed the king, by means of a memorial, that he had met one Arthur Lee in London, a representative of the Continental Congress, who had, in its name, offered France, for its secret aid, all the advantages of American commerce. But, Lee threatened, if France refused, America would send her first prizes into French ports, and force France either to admit or forbid them. Forbid, and America would accept peace and join with England in an attack on the French West India islands; admit them, and a rupture with England would follow anyway.¹⁸ Whether Lee or Beaumarchais

Britannique fondait sa réconciliation avec ses colonies révoltées sur une rupture avec la France, et que la faveur ou la justice qu'il consentait à leur accorder devait être le prix des hostilités qu'ils commettraient contre cette couronne".

Auberteuil says of the British government, "Ne pouvant plus espérer de soumettre les Américains, elle désira se réconcilier avec eux pour déclarer la guerre à la France. Elle employa d'habiles agens pour rechercher et sonder les commissaires Américains qui résidaient à Paris, et leur proposer la paix, à condition que le Congrès réunirait ses efforts à ceux de l'Angleterre contre la maison de Bourbon." M. Hilliard d'Auberteuil, *Essais Historiques et Politiques sur la Révolution de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1782), p. 344.

Condorcet, who was a friend and correspondent of Turgot, writes concerning the influences leading to the alliance with America, "Inquiet du départ de commissaires Anglais chargés de porter en Amérique des propositions séduisantes, signa enfin un traité d'alliance avec les Etats-unis." *Eloge de M. Franklin* (Paris, 1791), p. 30.

Droz says: "Beaucoup d'Américains, mécontents des lenteurs de la cour de Versailles, ne demandaient aux Anglais que de reconnaître l'indépendance, pour s'allier contre nous avec eux. Tout annonçait que nous avions le choix entre deux guerres, dont l'une promettait d'être glorieuse, et dont l'autre pouvait être féconde en désastres. Vergennes n'hésita plus. Maurepas était disposé en faveur des Américains par son désir de plaire à l'opinion publique." J. Droz, *Histoire du Règne de Louis XVI.* (Paris, 1858), p. 198.

Martin says: "La réunion des deux Angleterres contre nous était à redouter maintenant, non point si nous faisons la guerre, mais si nous ne la faisons pas. Les Anglais pouvaient, d'un moment à l'autre, reconnaître l'indépendance des Etats-Unis au prix d'une alliance offensive contre la France." H. Martin, *Histoire de France* (fourth ed.), XVI, 422; refers to Droz, *Hist. du Règne de Louis XVI.*, I, 262.

¹⁸ Doniol, I. 402 (February 29, 1776).

invented this striking and terrible dilemma, I do not know, but the menace of its horns never ceased to worry Vergennes. At least he never ceased to pretend to be worried by them.

Frederick the Great, secret enemy of England, had even earlier planted at the French court a like insidious idea through his minister in Paris. He suggested that France and Spain "had best reinforce themselves in America, for if England gets a great army and navy over there, it will seize the occasion, after subjugating its colonists, to attack the Spanish and French possessions there".¹⁹ St. Germain in a memoir to Vergennes March 1, 1776, declared his belief that when England was through with the American struggle, whether she won or lost, she would recoup her losses by seizing the French West India islands. "The ease of conquest would suggest the idea and the excuses are easy to find."²⁰ Beaumarchais's suggestion had made its instant appeal to Vergennes's imagination, and in his next memoir to the cabinet,²¹ he dwelt upon it at length, and suggested secret aid and at the same time preparation for war. Even Turgot, in his reflections on Vergennes's memoir,²² thought it likely that if England failed she would wipe out the shame by an attack on Martinique and Porto Rico. Yet he suggests that England may be too exhausted financially. For Vergennes there was no such hope, and for the next eighteen months his letters are filled with warnings of that danger. He was continually plying Spain with reasons for being ready for war, and, indeed, any time after 1776 he would have plunged France into war with England, if Spain would have joined with her;²³ but our problem is, why did France, after Burgoyne's defeat, unite with America in war upon England without Spanish aid.

The fears of Vergennes were never allayed, but rather ever augmented by reports from England. Noailles, the French ambassador in London, wrote as early as November 8, 1776, that the British ministry would be glad to see a war break out between England and France and Spain over the Portuguese affair. Then they could gracefully drop the American affair, which they were now too proud to do. Indeed, Noailles wrote that Lord Rockingham, calling attention in debate to the growing armaments of France

¹⁹ Bancroft, *Histoire de l'Action Commune de la France et de l'Amérique pour l'Indépendance des Etats-Unis* (trans. and ed. Circourt), III. 63 (January 8, 1776).

²⁰ Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 515, no. 24.

²¹ Doniol, I. 273-278, March, 1776.

²² Arch. Nat., K, 1340, no. 10, p. 42. "La morale de l'Angleterre en politique n'est pas faite pour nous rassurer", he adds.

²³ Bancroft, IX. 64-66; Doniol, II. 696, 664; Aff. Étr., Mém. et Doc., France, vol. 1897, fol. 70.

and Spain, had proposed reconciliation with America at any price, and then an alliance with that independent people. The Duke of Manchester and the Duke of Grafton had seconded this proposal.²⁴ Again, December 31, 1776, he wrote that the news of the American loss of Fort Washington had made London wild with joy. Their madness knew no bounds. This delirious people were ready to defy all the powers of the world, and "they talk loftily of attacking France".²⁵ In May, 1777, the French spies reported that Lord Camden had shown full knowledge of French aid to America, and of France's preparations for war. "Let us have war with all the world", he cried, "but peace with America."²⁶ By August of 1777 Vergennes was so beset with his *bête noire*, that he told Stormont, the British minister, flatly, "your public papers, your pamphleteers, your orators, and ours, repeat ceaselessly that if you do not regain your colonies you will fall upon ours".²⁷

This was the state of mind of the French foreign minister when the news of Burgoyne's defeat came oversea to England and to France. After all these auguries of war, it is little wonder that trifles light as air seemed proofs as strong as holy writ. Simultaneously with the arrival in Paris of the news of Burgoyne's surrender came the news from the French spies in London that the Duke of Richmond had proposed in the House of Lords to re-establish peace with America, and form with it a family compact, in all the force of that term, which would put the two countries out of reach, and render them superior to all other family compacts.²⁸ Fox, wrote the Duke of Noailles, was occupied with the same object in the House of Commons.²⁹ Another agent discusses at length the ominous threat that Chatham will be recalled.³⁰ "If he re-enters the cabinet he will be the master, and his insatiable avidity for glory will not let him neglect the means which he will have in his hands if he can, of attacking France and Spain."

Although Vergennes hastened as early as December 6, at the latest, to assure the American commissioners in Paris that the king contemplated an alliance of some sort with America,³¹ yet we know

²⁴ Aff. Etr., Corres. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 519, no. 17.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 123.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 523, fol. 155.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 524, no. 114.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 526. These spies not only reported the debates of both houses of Parliament, but even in some cases the discussions in the cabinet.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 163, December 5, 1777.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 154, December 5, 1777. Vergennes quotes this exactly, December 13, 1777. Aff. Etr., Corres. Pol., Espagne, vol. 587, no. 102.

³¹ Doniol, II. 626. He and Maurepas, he says, "think there is not a moment to lose in making friends with Congress—useful if we attach it, dangerous if we neglect it".

that the French ministry hesitated until December 17 before committing itself any further, and for a month after that it would have withdrawn from negotiation if anything untoward had happened, or if it could have shaken off the fear that America would make peace with England and form such a compact with it that France would be in danger of attack by both. Vergennes's diplomatic aims for a time appear in passages of his letters, as in that to Gerard (December 10, 1777), where he says he is too tired to see Deane and Grand who have just called, but "you see them" and "encourage them". "It is not possible to promise absolutely, but you can put them on the road to give to themselves the promise."³² On the following day he was writing Montmorin, "I will study meanwhile in the conference which I am to have to-morrow with the American deputies to so compass my language that I shall nourish their hopes without meanwhile engaging us beyond what is reasonable."³³ Moreover, he had told the commissioners that France ought not to act without Spain's approval, and had got them to await an answer from Spain.³⁴ These points are important since they reveal that December 6 was not the critical moment when the French decision was made, but rather some later date, perhaps as late as February 4, 1778, when the Spanish letter of January 28, 1778, arrived, and the French ministry knew of Spain's positive refusal to join with France against England.³⁵ Therefore all information which came to Vergennes meanwhile, strengthening his conviction that war was inevitable, influenced the final decision.

Letters from the secret agents of France in England continued to pile up the evidence that England sought peace with America, and wished war with France.³⁶ The Duc de Lauzun, writing from London, corroborated their fears, while the Comte de Broglie indited his usual memoir to the king filled with the same idea.³⁷ Every rumor from London confirmed these fears. The Duke of Richmond in parliamentary debate had declared that it was impossible for England to get peace with America on any other basis than that of independence. He urged a treaty of union like that with Scotland wherein the two nations would recognize the same king.³⁸ Chatham was reported to have made the same proposal.³⁹

³² Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., États Unis, vol. 2, no. 175.

³³ Doniol, II. 634-635.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 750-756.

³⁵ The drawing up of the treaty it is true had gone on, and after December 17, it would have been awkward for France to withdraw.

³⁶ Doniol, II. 648-649; Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 526, fol. 129.

³⁷ Doniol, II. 649-650, 668-670; Arch. Nat., Marine, B4, vol. 132, fol. 20 (original of Broglie memoir).

³⁸ Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 526, fol. 226.

³⁹ Arch. Nat., Marine, B4, vol. 132, fol. 20. See also Bancroft, IX. 478.

Lord North, talking of peace, was known to be working with the greatest zeal to get unlimited subsidies for war. Already sixty thousand sailors were voted, it was said, and it was not difficult to foresee the usage they would make of them if they could get their elbows free in America.⁴⁰ While French spies in London were daily sending the French ministry fresh proofs of the reality of their fears, Vergennes knew that the American commissioners were receiving agents sent by the British government to propose terms for a conciliation,⁴¹ and Franklin and Deane, while seeming very frank in confiding to Vergennes all that went on in these secret interviews, admitted with diplomatic innuendo that America might have to make peace with England, and even to turn on France because the United States got so little support in Europe.⁴² It seems to have been the astute policy of the American agents to create a jealousy in the French government by feigning to be near to a compulsory alliance with England, while at the same time they kept England on the anxious seat by affecting to desire an alliance with France. Carmichael, one of the American commissioners, put into Vergennes's hands a memoir pointing out that the help France had given thus far in money and arms was regarded by many in America as merely giving a little nourishment to the fire which would consume its enemy. If France, he warns Vergennes, lets England triumph, this force in America which united to France might put England where it could do no harm, will be directed against France. In America the love of conquest might replace that of patriotism. And Spain ought not to forget that England will console America for the loss of its liberty by the pillage of Spain's American possessions.⁴³ Paul Wentworth, the British spy, reported that Franklin in conversation with him (January 4, 1778) said, "It was affection to Great Britain which induced him to say that Independency was certain, that a few weeks would evince that he was still the friend of Great Britain, in wishing her to go before France and Spain and avoid a war on her part as well as prevent the colonies from engagements, which must be taken out of England's scale."⁴⁴ These clever American agents seem to have understood well the art of

⁴⁰ Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 526, fol. 248, December 13, 1777.

⁴¹ The assiduous Beaumarchais, ardent as ever for intervention in favor of America, brought this news, Doniol, II. 685. Noailles also suggested this, Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 526, no. 120, also no. 131 *bis*; Doniol, II. 648, note.

⁴² Doniol, II. 629-631. Also Wharton, *Dipl. Corres.*, December 8, 1777.

⁴³ Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 526, fol. 388.

⁴⁴ Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 34415, fol. 27. Franklin had conditioned this interview "on the understanding that propositions of honor and emolument, if Franklin would bring about a conciliation with England, must not be made". *Ibid.*, fol. 18.

worrying both England and France to the eternal advantage of their native land. They made capital out of their report to Vergennes on the proposals of England's secret agent. "He made them understand", writes Vergennes, December 15, 1777, "that the British ministry was ready to grant everything almost to Independence, which they could not risk for fear of losing their places. All was tried, promises, seduction, menaces. The most positive thing was that instructions had been sent to Lord Howe to negotiate in America. The formal proposition is to unite cordially and to fall upon France and Spain."⁴⁵ A fear that haunted Vergennes was that Lord North taking advantage of the stress of circumstances would anticipate Parliament's action. "Give all news on the wings of haste", Vergennes wrote fervidly to Noailles in London, December 13, "do not spare the couriers". "Tell them to push on in case of urgency even to Versailles." "Be on the alert, watch Parliament, the ministry, and the ports. We may expect violent scenes and extraordinary resolutions."⁴⁶ "In the distress wherein the British ministry finds itself", urges Vergennes, "every means will appear good to it to escape from its straits. Although North has announced the coming January 20, for submitting his plans of peace and of war, I have some reason for believing that he will not wait this time to prepare a reconciliation with the Americans. Orders must have been sent very recently to Howe for this undertaking. . . . If he believed that he had the power to accord independence, he might have a good chance—all other conditions being more difficult." He begs Noailles to solve for him the question whether North would dare grant Independence and treat as state with state before having the consent of Parliament. He fears that the ministry in its desperation may do almost anything. They may well regard a new war as a remedy to the evils which now overwhelm them.⁴⁷ Even if the North ministry falls, one under Chatham will succeed, and "it is the same to us", cried Vergennes, "whether war comes from Lord North or Lord Chatham".⁴⁸

By December 27, Vergennes was wholly decided. "The question which we have to solve", he wrote "is to know whether it is more expedient to have war against England and America united, or with America for us against England."⁴⁹ Over two weeks before,

⁴⁵ Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., Espagne, vol. 587, no. 105. More fully told, *ibid.*, no. 112.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Angleterre, vol. 526, no. 84.

⁴⁷ December 20, 1777, Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 526, no. 110 bis; *ibid.*, fol. 248.

⁴⁸ Doniol, II. 649.

⁴⁹ Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., Espagne, vol. 587, no. 135.

Vergennes had used in a letter to Spain the exact words of Beaumarchais, who, Mentor or Mephistopheles, was ever at his elbow during this critical period, whispering suspicions, and furnishing him with taffeta phrases which Vergennes never disdained to borrow in his next letters, while he kept a little at a distance and in the background this "Barber of Seville", who was too clever not to be used, but of too humble birth to be acknowledged. He wrote in Beaumarchais's words of the day before, "We must not forget that the power which recognizes the independence of the Americans first will gather all the fruits of this war."⁵⁰

This idea came also to dominate the mind of the king, as we see in his letter of January 8, to his "dear brother and uncle" the King of Spain. After discussing the effects of Burgoyne's defeat, and Lord North's proposal of pacification, he says, "It is the same thing to us whether this ministry be in power or another. By different means they unite to ally themselves with America, and they do not forget our ill offices. They will fall upon us as if the civil war had not been. This fact, and the griefs which we have against England, have determined me after having taken the advice of my cabinet that it is just and necessary to consider the propositions which the American insurgents make, and to begin to treat with them to prevent their reunion with their mother country."⁵¹ We have here the king's word as to the cabinet meeting to which Vergennes refers in his memoir, and, indeed, the archives contain what is almost certainly Vergennes's contemporary letter urging the king to ask each minister for a written opinion as to what ought to be done in the emergency, "the crisis in America".⁵² Even the contemporary memoirs, at least two of them, submitted to the king have been preserved in the archives,⁵³ so that Vergennes's reminiscent memoir of 1782 seems borne out in all of its assertions by the contemporary material. Vergennes's fears expressed in all his correspondence from 1776 to the time of France's momentous decision, make it seem clear that Vergennes did not invent this motive for the alliance—the idea that the French government was confronted by the dilemma of war with England anyway, whether France allied itself with England or not. He does not in my opinion merely use this device to get the consent of the king and the other ministers to the plan he wished to pursue. But whether it is his

⁵⁰ Doniol, II, 632. Beaumarchais's letter, *ibid.*, p. 684.

⁵¹ Aff. Étr., Mém. et Doc., France, vol. 1897, fol. 83.

⁵² Arch. Nat., K, 164, no. 3 (Corres. of Vergennes, no. 6; the date is merely December, 1777).

⁵³ Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., États-Unis, Supplément, vol. 26, fols. 38–47. Doniol, II, 673, 655.

conviction or his device, the idea of the terrible dilemma remains the reason for the decision of the French cabinet. The king's letter of January 8, 1778, seems to dispose of any idea that Vergennes alone of the members of the French cabinet was possessed of this spectre of inevitable war. We may therefore accept, with as much confidence as historical evidence ever grants us as to the motives of men, the assertion of Vergennes in 1782, that France entered into alliance with the United States in the spring of 1778, because the king and his ministry were convinced that France was doomed to a war with Great Britain whether she formed the American alliance or not, but that it was the better policy to join with America and thus win her support rather than to wait for England to make peace with America, and then make war in company with her upon the House of Bourbon whose insular possessions would lie so completely at their mercy.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

THE KEELMEN OF NEWCASTLE

THE Webbs in one of their best books, defining trade union as "a continuous association of wage-earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the condition of their employment", asserted that they had been unable to discover within the British Isles before the beginning of the eighteenth century anything falling precisely within this definition.¹ The guilds of the Middle Ages had been fundamentally associations of capitalists and entrepreneurs, while the bachelors' companies and the infrequent combinations of journeymen or workmen had been either subordinate to the will of their masters, ephemeral in character, friendly societies for co-operative benefit and assistance to the members, or for other purposes. Nor could the long-lived combinations of masons, so often forbidden by Parliament, be considered as early trade unions, since the members hired themselves not to employers but instead to the consumers direct. The origin of trade unionism in England they found just before the Industrial Revolution in certain skilled trades where the increasing amount of capital required to establish a business made it less possible for journeymen actually to become masters, and reducing them to the condition of life-long wage-earners, led them now to form new combinations of their own for the purpose of increasing their wages and bettering conditions. The typical instances were the tailors and the wool-combers, whose associations date from about the beginning of the eighteenth century.²

The keelmen of Newcastle-upon-Tyne may be cited as earlier instance of an organization of wage-earners who appear to have used their organization in attempts to increase their wages and remedy abuses, and so tended to become something like a trade union, representing, perhaps, a phase of transition from the old to the new. A great mass of records concerning the keelmen still exists in manuscript,³ which would probably reveal more clearly the structure of their organization and the ends which they sought to attain. Keelmen navigated the wherries or keels which plied upon the Tyne

¹ Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism* (new ed., London, 1907), p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 4-6, 8-10, 15, 16, 18, 21, 24, 25-31.

³ F. W. Dendy, introduction to *Extracts from the Records of the Company of Hostmen of Newcastle-upon-Tyne* (Surtees Society, CV., 1901), p. lii.

and the rivers nearby. Perhaps they carried various commodities,⁴ but as the great business of Newcastle came to be the export of sea-coal, they were occupied there almost entirely in transporting coal from the mine-staiths or wharves to the ships in which it was carried away. The keels in which they worked were the property of the hostmen of Newcastle, who by the beginning of the seventeenth century had obtained a monopoly of the coal business in this place. The keelmen, who were said to number about sixteen hundred, hired themselves to individual hostmen at certain wages for a year at a time. Many of them were Scots or Borderers. Some returned to Scotland in the winter season, but others with their wives and children occupied a particular part of the town, and had their own hospital and church and school.⁵

The "Kelemen" were organized in a by-trade or gild which is mentioned along with other "felawshipes or craftes" in a decree of Star Chamber in 1516.⁶ In 1607 it is spoken of as the "Company of Kelemen", and as a "Fraternity" somewhat later.⁷ This body, governed by stewards or overseers chosen from its own membership by the fitters or hostmen, undoubtedly exercised disciplinary control over its members.⁸ About 1699 they agreed to contribute from their wages towards a fund for the relief of their sick and poor, from which money a hospital or almshouse was built. That it might the better be collected they agreed that the hostmen should make the deduction from their wages, though they afterward complained of maladministration, and attempted to get entire control of the fund themselves.⁹

Whatever may have been the principal purposes of the keelmen's organization in the beginning, it is certain that as time went on they attempted collective bargaining with their employers, and entered into agreements with other keelmen in places nearby to compel employers to give them better wages or remedy abuses which were put upon them. In 1654 Whitelock notices "A Mutiny of the *Keelmen* at *Newcastle*, for increase of Wages".¹⁰ Not many years later they assembled tumultuously at Newcastle to complain of ill-treatment at the hands of the masters of the colliers as to wages. The "riot"

⁴ In 1560 payment was made "to iij kelman and a kell to go to sheall to east furthe skyns". *Extracts from the Records of the Merchant Adventurers of Newcastle-upon-Tyne* (Surtees Society, CL, 1899), p. 170.

⁵ Dendy, p. I.

⁶ Patent Roll, 8 Henry VIII., I. 15-16, printed in Gross, *The Gild Merchant*, II. 382.

⁷ *Surtees Society*, CV. 57; State Papers, Domestic, Entry Books, CXXX., May 16, 1738.

⁸ *Surtees Society*, CV. 157, 178.

⁹ Dendy, pp. I, lii.

¹⁰ *Memorials* (London, 1682), p. 581.

was ended when the deputy-lieutenant raised a part of the trainbands.¹¹ In 1707 the Hostmen's Company resolved to blacklist many keelmen concerned in a petition to Parliament.¹² In 1710 the keelmen ceased work and riotously prevented navigation on the Tyne, and were not suppressed until the local militia had been called out and reinforced by six companies of the queen's troops. The trouble arose from discontent at the administration of the keelmen's fund and because of demands for better pay. The mayor asserted that some of their complaints had to do with their wages, "which they wou'd have encreased beyond what has been paid them these thirty years—With severall extravagant demands not in our power to grant them". The queen ordered an investigation of "the present Combinations and Complaints".¹³ Nine years later the keelmen of the Tyne joined with those upon the Wear in a combination to force an increase of wages and obtain relief from various abuses. They complained that the fitters, their employers, compelled them to do more work than previously and paid part of their wages in clothing and other necessities. This the fitters denied. The magistrates of Newcastle attempted to adjust the dispute, but the strikers not only refused to work, but would permit no fitter to make use of his keel, so that coal traffic was completely suspended. Such disorder resulted that troops were again despatched to the scene, and vigorous action taken. The keelmen persisted until their leaders were in prison and themselves reduced to destitution, when they submitted. The fitters on their part made some slight concessions.¹⁴ In 1738, because of "some grievencys", the keelmen struck and prevented others from working, and the local authorities appealed for military assistance to "remove the present obstruction to Trade".¹⁵ In 1750 there was another strike in which the keelmen remained idle for several weeks. The magistrates summoned men and masters, and, as they affirmed, redressed the just complaints immediately; "But the Men would not go to work without having their Wages advanced, which were very extravagant Demands". It was admitted that the men did no mischief, but several of the "Offenders" were committed to prison in the hope of bringing the others "to their Duty".¹⁶

¹¹ S. P. Dom., Entry Books, XXXI., June 4, 1671; Privy Council Register, LXIII., June 9, 1671; *Historical MSS. Commission Reports*, 12, VII, 79.

¹² *Surtees Society*, CV, 172.

¹³ S. P. Dom., Anne, XII., June 23, July 11, 21, 1710; S. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIX., June 17, 27, July 1, 4, August 1, 1710.

¹⁴ S. P. Dom., Regencies, LVII., May 15, 16, 17, 30, 1719; LXI., May 19, 21, June 4, 5, 9, 16, 1719; LXII., July 16, 1719; S. P. Dom., Entry Books, CCLXXXI., June 16, July 23, 1719.

¹⁵ S. P. Dom., Entry Books, CXXX., May 16, 1738.

¹⁶ S. P. Dom., George II., CXII., April 30, 1750.

It would seem, then, that the fellowship of keelmen at Newcastle, originally a by-trade, apparently subordinate to the Hostmen's Company, and certainly controlled by it, while continuing to exercise the functions of regulation, discipline, and benefit, for which it had been founded, developed other activities, in which it persevered as time went on. Always a body of wage-earners, during the latter part of the seventeenth century and in the early part of the eighteenth it strove for better conditions and sought increased wages for its members, and not only pursued the same objects but adopted some of the methods of the tailors and the woolcombers, among whom trade-unionism in England is acknowledged to have had its origin.

EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER.

THE CRIME OF W. H. CRAWFORD

At the time when I was writing my doctor's thesis on the *Civil Service and the Patronage*, it was fashionable for civil service reformers to consider the law of 1820 fixing the term of most presidential appointees at four years as the *fons et origo* of the spoils system and W. H. Crawford as its conscious author. In the effort to throw light on this point, I found many curious and some important things, but no proof of the charge. In fact, I inclined to the belief that Crawford had no intention of using the law to secure his election, and that the law itself, in addition to being in accord with the democratic tendencies of the day, had some justification as an administrative measure. It is to the consideration of the latter point that I wish to add an item.

In the seventeenth century the Propaganda was the most active and efficient as it was the newest department of the papacy. Its administrative problem was precisely that of the United States, only on a much larger scale, the control of agents rendered practically independent by distance. Inspection was difficult, and the same distance rendered the inspectors as uncontrollable as the inspected; each inspection resulted in charges and counter-charges rather than in action. Even if the charges were true, the unfrocking of a priest or the removal of a bishop created a scandal and was too heavy a penalty to be inflicted for a light offense or on suspicion however strong; just as Crawford told Monroe in 1820, what was true in 1820, that the removal of a public official simply because he was unsatisfactory put an unjust stain upon his character. The control of the papacy over its clergy in America was almost non-existent, and the control of the United States over its distant officials in 1820 was unsatisfactory.

In both cases resort was made to a periodic and automatic cessation of powers. The American clergy needed certain *facoltà* not inherent in their orders or positions. The Propaganda adopted the policy of granting these *facoltà* for limited periods. At first the bishops were given fifteen years. In 1670 this was made seven, "because it is observed, that they remember the Sacred Congregation no more, until the necessity of renewing them arrives". In the case of lesser dignitaries the period was shorter, averaging, perhaps, three years. Refusal to regrant such *facoltà* could be made without ecclesiastical process and without scandal, unless the man neglected made it. In the United States the full commission ran out after four years; the same man could be reappointed or a new man substituted. It was the privilege of the man dropped to protest, or, if his failure of reappointment was for obvious cause, to hold his peace.

The system of the Propaganda did not work perfectly, but it gave the papal administration such a hold over distant clergy as it had never before had; it was the chief administrative device of the most active department of the Church's central organization. It is significant that, though lately much reduced in the range of its application, it is still the chief administrative device of the Methodist Church. In the United States the system was never really put into operation until the government was in the control of the spoilsmen who have found it a convenient, though by no means a necessary, device, while the development of communication changed the situation it was designed to meet.

I do not suppose I create the impression that W. H. Crawford had studied the history of the Propaganda or that he was deliberately copying the Methodist system, but the adoption, by various organizations, of systems so similar, to meet similar situations, shows the measure to be a reasonable piece of administrative machinery, and throws the burden of proof upon those who maintain that the motive for it was sordid.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

DOCUMENTS

Relations between the Vermont Separatists and Great Britain, 1789-1791

THE intrigues of the Vermont Separatists savor of the type of conspiracy so prominent in the West before the acquisition of Louisiana. In fact, the geographical positions of Vermont and of the Kentucky country were in one respect very similar. Both regions were so situated that it was easier for the inhabitants to float their products out by means of inland navigation systems through the northeastern and southwestern frontiers, respectively, than to send them out over the difficult land routes to the harbors of the eastern coast states. The position of Vermont in this respect closely resembles the relation of the Kentucky and Tennessee settlements to the closure of the Mississippi navigation, and was productive of much the same results; for while the Western citizens of the Ohio Valley were demanding the free navigation of the river, and while their delegations to the Virginia ratifying convention hesitated to consent to the adoption of a new Constitution that would give control of navigation and commerce to a remote central government that had not been over-careful of their rights to the New Orleans outlet, a strong party in the Sovereign State of Vermont was against joining the Union, and favored an alliance with Great Britain, or even return to British rule.

That Vermont was to a great degree dependent on the Champlain system appealed to many men in that state as a strong argument for seeking the protection of Great Britain rather than joining the new Union and accepting a part of its debt. Forming a natural highway from points almost as far south as the head of navigation of the Hudson, the Champlain system offered easy communication between Quebec and northwestern New England, together with those adjacent counties of New York, extending as far as Lake Ontario, which were claimed by Vermont under the old New Hampshire grants. Other things being equal, it was less laborious and cheaper for the inhabitants of this country to send out their produce and to receive their importations by way of Lake Champlain and the Sorel River than to carry them to and fro over the rough roads to the Atlantic Coast. If commercial concessions

were offered or to be had, the temptation for a Canadian connection was all the stronger.

The Allen brothers, Ethan, Ira, and Levi, were the most active and versatile of the separatist party, and their negotiations with Canadian and English officials form a story that is yet to be treated. The documents on which it must be founded, and from which a selection is here presented, are preserved among the Colonial Office Papers in the British Public Record Office. Transcripts of most of them are in the Canadian Archives at Ottawa, series Q. The references below, to one or other of these repositories, merely indicate the one in which the present inquirer found a particular document.¹

Immediately after the preliminary articles of peace had become known, several "persons of influence" from Vermont visited General Haldimand at Quebec, at different times. They represented their state as being strongly opposed to joining the Confederation, even though Congress complied with the condition, which had been advanced, that the new state should be exempt from any part of the debt of the United States contracted before the date of admission. They encouraged the settlement of royalists, and candidly and confidentially told Haldimand that Vermont must either become annexed to Canada or become mistress of it, as it was the only channel by which their produce could be marketed. They assured him that they preferred annexation. Haldimand, who, unlike some later Canadian governors, lacked initiative for petty intrigue, told them plainly that he could not interfere, and that he had positive orders to do everything possible to conciliate the affections of the subjects of the United States and those of Great Britain.² When Lord Sydney, then directing colonial affairs, received this news, he commented on it as extraordinary, but thought that it would not be consistent with the treaty to interfere "openly" in the disputes of the people of Vermont, though it would "be difficult to refuse to take them under our protection should they determine to become subjects of Great Britain". Haldimand must use his discretion, but should take no step without first notifying the home government.³

Through the year 1784 little was heard at Quebec from the

¹ The contributor being in Europe at the time of the final preparation of this material for the press, some of the annotations have been added, without ability to consult him, by the managing editor.

² Haldimand to North, Quebec, October 24, 1783, Canadian Archives, Q. 22: 85.

³ Sydney to Haldimand, Whitehall, April 8, 1784, Can. Arch., Q. 23: 55. Sydney was home secretary from December, 1783, to June, 1789.

Vermont separatists, and a formal demand by Governor Chittenden for the delivery of the British posts at Pointe-au-Fer and Dutchman's Point was refused. It was supposed that they were turning their attention more to Congress.⁴ The matter of connections with Canada had not been forgotten, however; for Ira Allen turned up in Quebec in the spring of 1785 with a commission from the governor of Vermont⁵ to negotiate for free trade between that state and the British provinces. Hamilton, then acting governor, sent Allen back with an indefinite answer.⁶ The governor's council declined to interfere on the ground that a royal order-in-council regulated all commerce. The request was forwarded to Whitehall.⁷

A memorial for free commercial privileges with Canada, with the same freedom as to the trade with the British West Indies and England in British vessels, was presented by Ira Allen to Dorchester late in 1786, and met with partial success. The governor's council, or "Council of State", this time saw fit to open up a trade by way of Lake Champlain, with the "neighboring states" to the province of Quebec. Free importation of lumber, naval stores, hemp, flax, grain, provisions, livestock, and all products grown in those states was allowed, and all British products excepting furs and peltries might be exported into them from Canada without payment of duties.⁸ The ministry afterward confirmed the action of the Canadian authorities, allowing Dorchester to direct the passage of such laws as were deemed expedient for regulating trade with Vermont, but not by this means to permit the importation of foreign goods, or the exportation of furs. A commercial treaty, which Allen had petitioned for, was impossible, said Lord Sydney.⁹

While Ira Allen had been negotiating for commercial privileges, his brother Levi had endeavored to secure a contract for supplying the British navy with masts, at prices paid at Portsmouth, N. H.,

⁴ Chittenden to Haldimand, Arlington, Vt., April 15, 1784, Can. Arch., Q. 23: 78. Haldimand to North, Quebec, May 12, 1784, Can. Arch., Q. 23: 161.

⁵ Act by the state of Vermont for the purpose of opening up free trade to and through the province of Quebec, with a resolution to appoint Ira Allen, Major Joseph Fay, and Hon. Jonas Fay commissioners for that purpose. Rutland, Vt., October 29, 1784. The act is in Slade, *Vermont State Papers*, p. 496; both act and resolution are in *Records of the Governor and Council of the State of Vermont*, III, 397-398. The Council, October 26, 1786, substituted Levi Allen for Joseph Fay, resigned; *ibid.*, 399.

⁶ Hamilton to Sydney, Quebec, April 7, 1785, Can. Arch., Q. 24: 282. Ira Allen's report, June 7, 1785, to the General Assembly, is in *Records of Governor and Council*, III, 398.

⁷ Extract from the minutes of the Council of State, Quebec, March 24, 28, 1785, Can. Arch., Q. 24: 450.

⁸ Memorial of Levi Allen, November 22, 1786, Can. Arch., Q. 28: 7. Proclamation of Dorchester, April 18, 1787, in *Records of Governor and Council*, III, 402. Ordinance of governor and council of Canada, April 30, 1787, *ibid.*, III, 403. Dorchester to Sydney, Quebec, June 18, 1787, Can. Arch., Q. 28: 4.

⁹ Sydney to Dorchester, Whitehall, September 14, 1787, Can. Arch., Q. 28: 28.

before the war.¹⁰ This offer, transmitted to the British naval authorities, does not appear to have had any further consequences.¹¹

Another petition from Vermont was brought to Quebec by Levi Allen late in 1787, asking permission to export produce from Canada in British bottoms on the same terms as those enjoyed by British subjects. There is no record of this request being granted.¹² The next summer his brother Ethan presented to Dorchester a long memorial, dated at Quebec, which is notable for the way in which this hero of Ticonderoga chaffered for British trading concessions and for supplies of arms in case of a rebellion against Congress, and indicated the willingness of Vermont to come under British dominion again. It is interesting to observe that this was presented to the governor of Canada within a few months from the time when Wilkinson forwarded a similar communication to the Spanish governor at New Orleans, for similar purposes, and with a similar though perhaps more selfish motive.¹³ Ethan Allen asserted that Vermont had 15,000 men, and would resist aggression on the part of the United States and any attempts to subjugate it.

Vermont is locally situated to the waters of Lake Champlain, which connect with those of the St. Lawrence, and contiguous to the Province of Quebec, where they must be dependent for trade, business and intercourse, which naturally incline them to the British interest—in the time of General Haldimand's command, could Great Britain have afforded Vermont protection, they would have readily yielded up their independence and have become a Province of Great Britain, and should the United States attempt a conquest of them, they would, I presume, do the same, should the British policy harmonize with it. For the leading men in Vermont are not sentimentally attached to a republican form of government, yet from political principles are determined to maintain their present mode of it, till they can have a better, and expect to be able to do it, at least, so long as the United States will be able to maintain theirs, or until they can on principles of mutual interest and advantage return to the British government, without war or annoyance from the United States.¹⁴

Sydney acted with caution, upon receiving from Dorchester a copy of this letter, and replied that nothing could be done until the

¹⁰ Levi Allen to Dorchester, Quebec, July 2, 1787, Can. Arch., Q. 28: 107, and Public Record Office, C. O. 42: 11, f. 87.

¹¹ Sydney to Dorchester, November 8, 1787, Can. Arch., Q. 28: 143.

¹² Major Skene to his father, Quebec, December 16, 1787, Can. Arch., Q. 36: 481. But the privileges accorded by the ordinance of April 30, 1787, were enlarged by one of April 14, 1788, of which the text is in the *Vermont Records*, III, 405-406.

¹³ The date of Allen's letter to Dorchester is July 16, 1788; that of Wilkinson to Miró is dated February 12, 1789. Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, III, 223-240.

¹⁴ Ethan Allen to Dorchester, Quebec, July 16, 1788, Can. Arch., Q. 36: 448. This is calendared by Mr. Brymner, in the *Report on the Archives for 1890*, who makes liberal quotations, pp. 210-211.

reassembling of the ministry.¹⁵ Impatient at this delay, the energetic Allens determined upon a bolder stroke; they resolved that one of them should go to England in person, and there confer directly with the ministry. The story of Levi's voyage to England and of his relations with the Cabinet, the adventures of his ship, and his vain attempt to prevent Vermont from joining the Union, are described in the letters printed below. The first is a formal memorial to the Secretary of State for the Home Department. The second is a reference of the memorial to the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Plantations. The report of the committee, made at a time when the Nootka Sound question bade fair to result in war between Spain and Great Britain, and when the ministry was doubtful as to the attitude of the United States, has already been printed in this *Review* by Professor Frederick J. Turner.¹⁶ The committee considered an identical policy to be in many ways applicable to Vermont and Kentucky. A British interest should be fostered for commercial and political reasons in Kentucky; the same interest might be enhanced in Vermont by giving the inhabitants liberal commercial facilities, though the committee did not presume to say whether the hostility of the States ought to be invited by the negotiation of an actual treaty with Vermont, which was recognized by the treaty of 1783 to be within American boundaries.

Allen was kept waiting in London while the business of the Nootka imbroglio proceeded. Grenville soon received information from his informal agent in New York, Major George Beckwith, that the United States would not go to war over the question of the posts, even should Spain and Britain come to grips. This assurance came from Alexander Hamilton, and enabled the Duke of Leeds, the secretary for Foreign Affairs, to discount the veiled threats of Gouverneur Morris, who was at the same time in London as the personal agent of Washington, inquiring as to the disposition of the ministry regarding fulfillment of the stipulations of the treaty of 1783.¹⁷ For this reason it was not necessary to hold out to Allen any favors much greater than those already granted by

¹⁵ Sydney to Dorchester, Whitehall, September 5, 1788, Can. Arch., Q. 38: 1.

¹⁶ "English Policy toward America, 1790-1791", *American Historical Review*, VIII. 78-86, report of April 17, 1790. Cf. (same article, part I.), *id.*, VII. 707.

¹⁷ See Beckwith to Grenville, New York, April 7, 1790, Public Record Office, F. O. 4: 12. Grenville to Dorchester, June 6, 1790, Can. Arch., Q. 44: 161. For Morris's mission, see *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, I., and J. Sparks, *Life and Letters of Gouverneur Morris*, vol. II., ch. I. See also Manning, "Nootka Sound Controversy", in *American Historical Association Report*, 1906, pp. 417 ff.

the Canadian government, nor to accept the possibility of an alliance with the "Vermontese". The whole intrigue, if it may be called such, was extinguished automatically by the confederation of Vermont to the United States.

Our third document, Levi Allen to Dundas, August 9, 1791, runs parallel to, and supplements, a letter which Colonel Simcoe wrote to the same official a week before, August 2, after conversation with Allen, and which has been printed in the *Report* of the Canadian Archives for 1889.¹⁸ The fourth document is of additional interest in that, like passages in the third and sixth, it shows relations hitherto unknown between Simcoe and General Elijah Clarke, the Georgia backwoodsman, in the period between the latter's first disappointment over President Washington's Creek treaty of 1790, on the one hand, and his relations with Genet in 1793 and trans-Oconee outbreak of 1794.¹⁹ The fifth and sixth documents relate the story of Allen's final disappointment, in a manner to supplement the account which Allen gave Simcoe in a letter dated November 19, 1791, and printed in the *Canadian Archives Report* for 1889.²⁰

The Unionist party gave the governor of Canada considerable anxiety for the safety of the British posts in that state. In 1791 he gave orders to the officers there that any attack must be repelled, and noted with concern the erection of the custom-house at Alburgh, which Levi Allen feared would take fire.²¹ The aggressive attitude of the Unionists toward the British posts was the subject of representations by Hammond, the British minister at Philadelphia, to Jefferson, who took some steps to quiet apprehensions.²² Dorchester's nervousness over the Vermont posts added to his perturbation in 1794, when he made the famous hostile speech to the Indians and ordered Governor Simcoe, of Upper Canada, to build the Miami Fort on American soil, near the present city of Toledo.²³

Ira Allen made a voyage to Europe in 1796, visited England, and petitioned the government for leave to cut a canal between Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence River.²⁴ While in France

¹⁸ P. 53. Colonel John Graves Simcoe had long since been listed for appointment as the first lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, though his commission was not issued till September 12, 1791. Read's *Simcoe*, p. 127.

¹⁹ Stevens, *History of Georgia*, II. 404 ff.

²⁰ P. 56.

²¹ Dorchester to Lieut.-Col. Buckenridge, January 17, 1791, Can. Arch., Q. 50: 113. See p. 557, *post*, and note 40.

²² *American State Papers, For. Rel.*, I, 461-463, correspondence between Randolph and Hammond relative to the speech of Lord Dorchester. Also Dorchester to Dundas, Quebec, September 20, 1794, Can. Arch., Q. 70: 64.

²³ Dorchester to Hammond, Quebec, February 17, 1794, Can. Arch., Q. 67: 105.

²⁴ Ira Allen to Portland, London, August 15, 1796, Can. Arch., Q. 77: 339.

he purchased 20,000 stand of arms for the Vermont militia, though the Canadian officials noted that the Vermont militia was legally required to furnish its own arms.²⁵ Allen's shipment was captured by a British warship, it being suspected that they were for the aid of a revolution of the French inhabitants of Lower Canada. The proceedings and correspondence relative to Allen's connection with this plot against British authority are printed in part in the *Report* on the Canadian Archives for 1891,²⁶ and in his *Olive Branch*.

S. F. BEMIS.

I. MEMORIAL OF LEVI ALLEN, MAY 4, 1789.²⁷

*To the Right Honble Lord Sydney,
Principal Secretary of State.*

THE Representative and Memorial of Levi Allen in behalf of the Inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants, known by the name of Vermont Humbly sheweth,

That your Memorialist is authorized by Commission under the Great Seal of Vermont, pursuant to an Act of the General Assembly thereof, to negotiate a Commercial and Friendly Intercourse between Vermont and His Majesty's Dominions.²⁸

In the first place, your Memorialist begs leave to represent to your Lordship that during the late unhappy Troubles in America, great numbers of His Majesty's faithful subjects from the provinces of New England, New York and New Jersey retired into the District of Vermont in order to avoid being driven into arms against their Sovereign, by the Revolters; these Loyal Emigrants, joining with those in Vermont who adhered to their allegiance, made at least three-fourths of the Inhabitants of that District, and those of the Inhabitants, who in the beginning of the frenzy which unhappily prevailed in America, even for a time opposed to His Majesty's Government, soon saw their error and would have been happy to have been permitted to have returned to their Allegiance long before the end of the war, for which purpose Overtures were made to the Commander-in-chief in Canada early in 1788. this would still be their greatest wish could it be practicable, but being in doubt with respect to its practicability, this part of their wish is not comprehended in the Commission with which your Memorialist is charged. The locality of Vermont, as well as the Disposition of its Inhabitants, renders its connection with Canada the most natural as well as the most advantageous of any, as the waters of Lake Champlain are the principal means by which they can export their produce, or receive their manufactures they stand in need of from this Country, on this account they earnestly hoped to have been incorporated as an appendage

²⁵ *Burlington Mercury*, December 1, 1796, in Prescott's letter to Portland, Quebec, December 17, 1796, Can. Arch., Q. 78: 131, 159, 160.

²⁶ Pp. 63-64, 81-84, of first part. *Records*, III. 413-418.

²⁷ Public Record Office, F. O. 4, vol. 7, and C. O. 42: 12, f. 409.

²⁸ Levi Allen seems to have had no other public authority than his commission under the act of 1784, which conferred powers for exercise in Quebec solely. See his letter to his brother Ira, London, June 25, 1789, printed in the *Vermont Historical Magazine*, I. 572-573, and in *Records*, III. 409.

to the Province of Quebec, but those hopes were defeated by the boundary line of the United States as settled by the late Peace.

Your Memorialist begs leave further to represent to Your Lordship that the number of the Inhabitants of Vermont is computed to be one Hundred and Sixty Thousand Souls,²⁹ and the Country is daily increasing by a rapid Population; their vicinity to Canada and particularly the bordering of Lake Champlain, the principal entrance to that Province from the South, cannot fail, Your Memorialist humbly apprehends, to render their Friendship and Commerce useful and acceptable, and as they are for the most part people who were (and continue to be) loyally disposed, and after being driven on that account into this place of Retreat were finally cut off from His Majesty's Dominions and Government sorely against their wishes, would willingly hope that they might be considered in some degree worthy of His Majesty's Royal Benevolence and Regards.

The Produce of Vermont consists in Lumber, Naval Stores, Corn and Grain of all sorts, Pot and Pearl Ashes, pig and bar Iron, Cattle and Provisions of all kinds, Horses and Mules, Hemp, Flax, Tallow, Bees wax and Honey, with many more articles, which the Inhabitants early wish to be permitted to send to or through the Canadian market, and to receive in exchange such Goods and Manufactures as they have occasion for, In the same manner and subject to the same duties, Imports and Drawbacks as if said District had been part and parcel of His Majesty's Province of Quebec.

Your Memorialist therefore humbly prays that your Lordship would be favorably pleased to take this Memorial into Consideration, and that such free License and Permission may be granted in the Premises, as shall on mature deliberation be found meet.

And your Memorialist will pray for and in behalf of
The Inhabitants of Vermont,

LEVI ALLEN

LONDON, May 4, 1789, N 4 Bridge Row, near Ranelagh

II. GRENVILLE TO THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL
FOR TRADE AND PLANTATIONS,³⁰

The Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations;

My Lords,

I have the honor of enclosing to your Lordships herewith a Memorial delivered to me this day (addressed to my Predecessor in Office) by Mr. Levi Allen in behalf of the Inhabitants of Vermont, setting forth that he has been appointed under the Great Seal of that State pursuant to an Act of the General Assembly to Negotiate a Commercial and friendly intercourse between the said State and His Majesty's Dominions, and proposing certain arrangements in consequence, and I have received His Majesty's Commands, to desire that Your Lordships will take Mr. Allen's proposals into your consideration and acquaint me for His Majesty's information what steps may in Your Lordships' opinion be taken therein.

²⁹ The census of 1790 gave a total population of 85,425.

³⁰ Public Record Office, F. O. 4, vol. 7. The date may be presumed to have been June 13, 1789. Grenville succeeded Sydney as home secretary on June 5.

I enclose a Copy of the Minutes of the Legislature of the State of Vermont, and of the Commission before mentioned.³¹

III. LEVI ALLEN TO HENRY DUNDAS, RANELAGH, AUGUST 9, 1791.³²

Sir;

Since I left Vermont in Janry 1789 the Principal men of Governor Chittenden and Allens Party, Instructed me in addition to the business of the Commercial Treaty I was Honor'd with from Vermont, to assure the British Court that Vermont was from local situation as well as from inclination firmly attached to them, and that whenever Vermont should find it necessary to join Britain or join Congress, they would positively join the former. Indeed Vermont at that time viz. the principal men of Chittenden's and Allen's party was clear for joining Great Britain immediately; in order to which my surviving Brother, Ira Allen, and myself waited on Lord Dorchester at Quebec, about two months before my departure for England, and gave a written proposal for that purpose.

After my arrival in London more than twelve months passed without the least Probability of success; of which I informed my brother Ira, with much reluctance, after receiving several letters from him full of complaints for my unpardonable neglect in not acquainting him with what was doing, and what probability there was of anything being done at the British Court.³³ A short time after, just as I was preparing to embark for America, Col. Simcoe took me by the hand and brought forward the business of Vermont in a very satisfactory manner, of which I lost no time in acquainting Governor Chitenden and Ira Allen at the same time acquainting them I should set out for Liverpool in a few weeks to charter and load a ship with all possible dispatch for William Henry,³⁴ and they would not fail to have a proper cargo prepared at William Henry for the English market on the ship's arrival. Many unavoidable Procrastinations took place in the course of chartering and loading the ship at Liverpool, amongst which the obstructions thrown in my way by the Merchants in this country who supply Canada were not the least, our seamen were impressed³⁵ and a second crew mostly ran away, the latter was owing to some imprudence of the Captain. The contrary winds Prevented getting out of the harbor for a long time, and to complete the unfortunate scene, was drove by a heavy gale of wind from the Banks of Newfoundland within sight of the Azores or Westerly Islands, neither the captain or mate had ever been up the St. Lawrence, and all appeared much afraid to venture, and as a clause in the Charter Party left it optional with the Captain to stop at Quebec he found it unsafe to proceed to William Henry. The captain being an obstinate timmed man, declared if I insisted on his again attempting the St.

³¹ A marginal note here says that these inclosures were not found.

³² Can. Arch., Q. 54: 698, and C. O. 42: 85; summarized in *Report* for 1890, second part, p. 306. Dundas succeeded Grenville as home secretary on June 8, 1791, Grenville on that day becoming foreign secretary.

³³ Grenville meanwhile wrote Dorchester of the importance of having the friendship of Vermont in the event of alarm from the United States. This friendship had been strengthened, he said, by the encouragement already given. For this reason he had encouraged Levi Allen. Grenville to Dorchester, Whitehall, May 6, 1790, Can. Arch., Q. 44: 87.

³⁴ At the head of Lake George.

³⁵ A general press for the Nootka Sound armament occurred on the night of May 4, 1790.

Lawrence he positively would go no farther than Quebec, which would by no means answer my purpose, and the wind still continuing unfavorable we stood for Georgia.³⁶ After arrival I wrote Governor Chittenden and Ira Allen, the misfortune met with, and that I should pay them a visit as soon as the ship was loaded for England, but having to dispose of and purchase a cargo in a place where I had little acquaintance and less *Friends*, and none I could depend upon, the Captain proving to be an obstinate ignorant miserly Brute I deemed it improper to intrust him with the cargo, a dispute arising about demurrage which could not be settled with him, and some bills I had been favored with leave to draw in England would shortly become due, and my credit forever ruined as a *Merchant*, or a man of *Honour*, if the same were not Punctually Paid; In this disagreeable situation I again wrote Governor Chittenden and my Brother, and returned in the ship, Having previously taken two long tours into the back-woods of Georgia to see Genl Clarke, he being absent the first, for the particulars of which I refer you to Col. Simcoe, who has Clarke's letter.³⁷

I shall always be doubly happy to serve this country, for in doing so I shall serve Vermont, whose interests on a proper establishment will be forever mutual, and of course Perminant, the rulers and inhabitants of Canada and Vermont ought to keep up a friendly connection, and I am sorry to have occasion to observe it is not the case at Present, through some little foolish Prejudices that exist between them. Soon after my leaving Vermont my brother Ethan Allen died,³⁸ and before the end of the year, through some private outrages of Congress and New York, and by means of two hundred and thirty votes of Chittenden's Party not arriving in time, the opposition very unexpectedly to Chittenden's *Friends* got Mr. Robinson in Governor, which the other and far the strongest Party, had not the least suspicion of.³⁹ Chittenden had been Governor, and chosen annually from the commencement of the State to that day. During Robinson's reign overtures were made to federal Congress, to admit Vermont into the federal Union. In October Chittenden was again elected Governor by a large majority of votes. Congress finding their friend Robinson, was out of office, and that Vermont was negotiating as a Sovereign State a commercial treaty, with Great Britain in January 1791 Passed a decree allowing Vermont to join the Union and send three members to Congress, and at the same time giving the same liberty to Kentucky, and probably for similar reasons and immediately after Passed a decree to establish a Customs House on Lake Champlain at 45° N. Lat. for the Purpose of making the Vermonters pay the same duty

³⁶ The difficulties of autumnal navigation into the St. Lawrence are illustrated, under date of October 16 in the next year, 1791, by the following passage from Mrs. Simcoe's diary: "It will be so late before we come into the River St. Lawrence that the pilots will probably have quitted the Isle of Bic [their station 108 miles below Quebec]. . . . and the master of the *Triton* cannot carry her up without a pilot. In this case we must return to the Gulph, and the season being too severe to keep in a northern latitude, we must steer for Barbadoes." *The Diary of Mrs. John Graves Simcoe* (Toronto, 1911), p. 46.

³⁷ An examination of the papers in the Canadian Archives has failed to throw any light on the subject of these "tours". Apparently the letter spoken of has not been preserved. A letter of Levi Allen to his wife, an extract from which is printed in the *Vermont Historical Magazine*, I, 573, is dated Savannah, November 29, 1790.

³⁸ Ethan Allen died February 13, 1789.

³⁹ Moses Robinson was elected governor October 9, 1789.

on goods through Canada as those that come up the Hudson River; which customs house soon after built will probably suffer desolution by accidental fire as there are many very careless people in Vermont, who often set the woods on fire to facilitate catching their game.⁴⁰ Since the passing of the aforesaid decrees in Congress there has been no stated session of the general assembly of Vermont (nor any special one called that I have any information of) till the meeting of the general assembly which shall be on the second Teusday of October next; before which time I will be there (the King of Terrors only shall prevent) and make no doubt that the Profer of Congress will be rejected by the Legislature of Vermont. Vermont have annually for many years chosen three representatives for Congress, but they never attended. As to the Proclamation given out by Governor Chittenden to the inhabitants of Alburg to convene for the purpose of choosing town office, etc., it is a matter that the law directs on organizing a new town, which is the case with Alburg.⁴¹ As to that part which mentions to choose some proper person to represent them in Congress, I cannot positively see what necessity there was for it, but it may be a form of word used upon those occasions, as all the original parts of Vermont have for some time and do still vote for members of Congress, as before observed. Whatever is done or is doing in Vermont I shall give you the minutest information of, after my arrival there, and if matters work as I firmly believe, and most sincerely wish, for the good of Great Britain, Canada, and Vermont, shall Probably be here again in a very short time and be able to silense the little invectives privately and liberally thrown out against Vermont.

I will venture to say that the People of Vermont have not the most distant idea of allowing the State of New York to hold the lands lying between Lake Champlain and Lake Ontario, as those lands were included in the grant made to New Hampshire more than a century ago. As there is a considerable party in Vermont who adhere strictly to the Principles and Doctrines of the Church of England, I could Politically as well as religiously wish that they might be encouraged, and if Government send out a Bishop to Canada he may have liberty to exercise his functions in Vermont,⁴² and if he be an unbigoted sociable man, he may assist in the cement necessary between Canada and Vermont, and I have reason to believe the latter will appropriate lands for his support, as they have 360 acres in every six miles square in Vermont already granted to the glebe of the Church of England, and the same amount

⁴⁰ Act for admission approved February 18, 1791; for three representatives, February 25; for custom-house at Alburgh, act of March 2, 1791, ch. 12, sec. 8. Alburgh lay south of 45°, but was on land claimed under British authority as Caldwell's Manor, and was within the district of the British military posts at Dutchman's Point in North Hero, Vt., and Pointe au Fer, N. Y.; but this was not known to Congress when it established the Vermont port of entry there. Letter of Buckeridge, St. John's, May 8, 1791, Can. Arch., Q. 50: 146, and information from "a member of the Senate" (plainly Rufus King) in *Report for 1890*, first part, p. 171.

⁴¹ For the history of the resulting disturbances, see *Vermont Records*, IV, 454-478.

⁴² Dr. Charles Inglis, the first colonial bishop of the Anglican church, was consecrated bishop of Nova Scotia in 1787, with jurisdiction extending over Canada. Though the appointment of a bishop of Quebec was under consideration in this year 1791, as the next document shows, the first bishop of that diocese, Dr. Jacob Mountain, was not consecrated till 1793.

granted to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.⁴³

This much on the supposition that Vermont has not joined the federal Union, and as to the other supposition, that they have joined, I do not chose to intrude upon your time by writing on so disagreeable and improbable a subject.

You shall hear from me the truth the first Opportunity after my arrival in Vermont.

I have the honor to subscribe myself in behalf of Vermont,
Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

LEVI ALLEN

IV. EXTRACT OF LETTER FROM SIMCOE TO DUNDAS, LONDON, AUGUST 12, 1791.⁴⁴

I beg to offer you the Copies of three Letters, the one from the late General of Vermont, Ethan Allen,⁴⁵ is now in my possession. In it, Sir, you will find the substance of the Politicks which I have adopted relative to Vermont. When Sir H. Clinton intrusted me with his plan of operations which were prevented by the Death of Major André, I was directed to make myself master by every inquiry within my power of the nature of the Ground, and the Inhabitants in the vicinity of the Upper Posts of Hudson's River. From that moment to the present Hour I have been convinced of the importance of Vermont, and the real good intentions of its Leaders to this Country. I think they may be of the utmost utility in the present critical moment.

Another letter is to me from Elijah Clarke, a General of Georgia, and who can neither write nor read. He took Augusta from us in the last war. The third is from that active adventurer, Bowles. He had served when a boy under my command. I inculcated to him peace, and to settle a Boundary; and a system of colonization which I thought practicable and might eventually be of great utility to this Country. You will perceive, to my surprize, he talks of visiting me in Upper Canada.⁴⁶

⁴³ The foundation for this statement lies in the fact that, in each of a large number of townships granted in Vermont by Governor Benning Wentworth of New Hampshire, one allotment had been set aside "as a glebe for the Church of England as by law established", while another had been assigned to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (and another to the first settled minister personally). But an act of 1787 had authorized the selectmen of each such town, save in the case of the few Episcopal ministers then actually officiating, to use the lands for the town. Subsequent state legislation, of 1794 and 1805, and a decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1815 (*Pawlet v. Clark*, 9 Cranch 292) diverted the glebes entirely to secular uses; but the Society's lands were secured to it in 1823, against similar legislation, by the decision of the same court in the *Society v. New Haven*, 8 Wheaton 464. See also [Batchelder and Bailey], *The Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Vermont* (New York, 1870), *passim*.

⁴⁴ Can. Arch., Q. 278: 283. The rest of the letter is irrelevant to the immediate subject of the part quoted. It will be found calendared in the *Report* on the Canadian Archives for 1891, Upper Canada, p. 3.

⁴⁵ This letter is not found as an enclosure. Neither have the other two documents mentioned below been found. As to Elijah Clarke, see the introduction and note 19, above. The item respecting William Augustus Bowles is a new contribution to the life of that picturesque adventurer.

⁴⁶ As to William Augustus Bowles (1763-1807), see *American Historical Review*, VIII, 708, 726-734, where are letters from him showing his presence in London in January, 1791. His presence there in that year is also shown in *Authentic*

V. REV. SAMUEL PETERS TO GRENVILLE, PIMLICO, NOVEMBER 19, 1791.⁴⁷

PIMLICO, Novembr. 19th, 1791.

My Lord—

Last evening I received a Letter from Levi Allen Esqr. dated at Boston New England the 15th of October 1791, which says, "this day at 12 O'Clock at Noon I arrived here in a small sloop from Halifax and to morrow morning I shall set off on Horseback to execute the Business I have much at Heart". Mr. Allen adds, "I was charged four Guineas duty at Falmouth; and twenty eight Guineas for my passage in the Grantham Packet to Halifax which with other Expenses on the Road from London to Falmouth and from Halifax to Boston, exhausted nearly all my Cash, whereupon I called on Dr. A. A. Peters of this Town,"⁴⁸ and gave him the signal of *Lewis Alden* and the Dr. Advanced me one hundred Pounds Sterling for *Lewis Alden's* Bill on you. If I carry the two points in full Expectation, I shall not mind my Expenses and Labours".

By various Letters from the States of America I have Information, that Emigration and discontent still prevail, and my friends wish to know by next January whether I am to go out Bishop of Canada, as February and March are the months for moving their families on the snow and Ice.⁴⁹

My Lord,

I am with honour and esteem,
your Lordships
most obedient and most humble Servt.

SAMUEL PETERS.

Right Honble. Lord Grenville.

VI. LEVI ALLEN TO [DUNDAS], VERMONT, UNION RIVER, NOVEMBER 27, 1791.⁵⁰

Sir

As the Courier from Canada from [for?] New York is Put in here in a gale of wind, I take the liberty (tho' out of the channel proposed through Governor Simcoe) to write you as the same will come sooner to hand.

Memoirs of William Augustus Bowles, Esquire, Ambassador from the United Nations of Creeks and Cherokees to the Court of London (London, 1791), and in the Canadian Archive Report, for 1890, second part, p. 285. Bowles and his party visited Quebec on the way, in July, 1790. See *ibid.*, pp. xlii, 154-156 of first part, 255-256 of second part.

⁴⁷ Public Record Office, C. O. 42: 88; Can. Arch., Q. 57: 176. Dr. Samuel Peters (1735-1826), the celebrated Tory parson and writer of Connecticut history, was now living in London on a government pension of £200 per annum. P. R. O., Treas. 50: 7. The letter is endorsed as received the same day and transmitted to Dundas in Lord Grenville's note of the same date.

⁴⁸ Apparently Dr. Alexander Peters, a physician in Boston at this time.

⁴⁹ Simcoe, in a letter to Dundas, London, June 2, 1791, declaring it indispensable that a bishop should be appointed for Upper Canada, states that he has recommended Mr. Peters, late of Connecticut, as a proper person. Can. Arch., Q. 278: 228. In 1794 an irregular convention of Vermont Episcopalians elected him bishop of Vermont, and he accepted the election, but was never consecrated. See *Doc. Hist. of the Prot. Episc. Ch. in Vt.*, pp. 25-46.

⁵⁰ Can. Arch., Q. 54: 721, and P. R. O., C. O. 42: 85. In Can. Arch., Q. 57: 194, and P. R. O., C. O. 42: 88, there is a letter of the same purport to Dr. Peters, signed "Lewis Alden" and dated at Alburgh, on the same day, November 27.

I sailed on the Grantham, Capt. Bull the 11th of September arrived at Halifax in 27 days, the next morn. took a Passage in a little fishing sloop for Boston, where I arrived the sixth day, bot a horse and saddle, etc., and in three days rode to Windsor in Vermont where the Legislature of Vermont had a few days previously met, and much to my great mortification [found] that there had been an adjourned session between Oct. session 1790 and Oct. 1791, also a convention of deputies from each town, Previous to said adjourned session, in which Vermont had fully joined the United States.⁵¹ I remained at the General Assembly to the close thereof, twenty-one days. I think I may affirm without arrogance that if I had got up the River St. Lawrence last year with the well-chosen assortment of goods, Vermont would not have joined Congress, in fact a majority of both Houses now confess they are sorry, and feel themselves much hurt on hearing many advantages that would have accrued to Vermont if they had remained Independent, and at the same time on the other hand I made an estimate of the Probable Duties Vermont would be obliged to pay annually, which had not been before properly stated. I made no mention of anything, only my own opinion and what I had found would have been done in the course of negotiating the commerce of Vermont.

The facts are a number wanted to go to Congress, and tho' but four can go, yet 44, at least, expected to be appointed. Ethan Allen being dead, and Ira Allen was silent on account of the land he owned, and Caldwell first claimed,⁵² that Governor Chittenden thought it unpopular to oppose the current, so that poor Vermont had not a man of any considerable consequence to say a word for her real interest.

I shall in the course of the insuing winter go into the back parts of Georgia, visit General Clark,⁵³ and communicate every information to Governor Simcoe that may be advisable to him. The puff of wind being abated the courier will not wait, nor give me time to write this out fairly.

I am Sir, your faithful Humble Servant,

LEVI ALLEN.

⁵¹ Assembly session of January 10-27, 1791; convention of January 6-10.

⁵² Caldwell's Manor, a tract near 45° N. lat. and including Alburgh, claimed by Caldwell under grant from the Canadian government, and, in part, by Ira Allen under grant from that of Vermont.

⁵³ Elijah Clarke.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Men of the Old Stone Age: their Environment, Life and Art.

By HENRY FAIRFIELD OSBORN, Sc.D., Ph.D., LL.D., Research Professor of Zoölogy, Columbia University. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1915. Pp. xxvi, 545.)

ANYONE who has made a serious study of the problem of man's antiquity cannot fail to be impressed by its complexity. By reason of this complexity, its avenues of approach are many. Professor Osborn has approached from the side of the zoölogist, the palaeontologist. In the preface he frankly confesses that he is in no sense an archaeologist; and that his volume represents the work of many specialists. This co-operative feature should prove to be one of the chief merits of the work, and is an example worthy of imitation.

The task set by the author is a synthesis of the results of geology, palaeontology, anthropology, and archaeology. The time factor in prehistory can only be drawn from a great variety of sources: climate, geography, fauna and flora, and the mental and physical evolution of man. In fact there are no less than four ways of keeping prehistoric time: that of geology, palaeontology, anatomy, and human industry, the most delicate chronometer being that afforded by human industry—in other words archaeology.

The plan of the book is not unlike that of other recent works on the same general subject; and the conclusions drawn are for the most part in harmony with one of the dominant European schools. Geographically it is confined to the Old World, and almost wholly to Europe; it has crystallized largely about a summer's trip through the cave regions of France and Spain, in which the reviewer likewise had a share. While not limited rigorously to the men of the Old Stone Age, the men and stone ages of the New World are not touched upon.

In late Pliocene times the human ancestor is supposed to have emerged from the age of mammals and entered the age of man, the event marking, in other words, the beginning of prehistory. The attitude is erect and the opposable thumb already developed. The anterior centres of the brain for the storing of experience and the development of ideas are still rudimentary, which is probably true of the power of articulate speech. Penck's minimum of 525,000 years in round numbers is accepted as the length of time that has elapsed since the beginning of the Quaternary or Pleistocene epoch. The Trinil race (*Pithecanthropus*) lived near the beginning of this epoch. The question whether

the skull cap and the femur belong to the same individual or even genus is left open; as is likewise the question of the position of *Pithecanthropus* with respect to our direct ancestral line of descent.

The oldest known race of man, that represented by the Mauer jaw (*Homo heidelbergensis*), is given a place in the next to the last interglacial stage (Mindel-Riss), which is in agreement with the general consensus of opinion. This race is looked upon as the ancestor of the Neandertal race, being more primitive and powerful as well as more ape-like. According to the author's time scale, *Homo heidelbergensis* lived some 250,000 years ago.

Regarding the age of the Piltdown man, the author's opinion runs counter to that of some well-known authorities, who consider *Eoanthropus* to be as old as the Heidelberg man. In fact the name chosen—"dawn man"—would suggest an even greater antiquity for Piltdown. But Osborn synchronizes *Eoanthropus dawsoni* with the last interglacial stage (Riss-Würm), thus giving him only half the antiquity of *Homo heidelbergensis*. He further believes that the Piltdown race was not related in any way either to the Heidelbergs or to the Neandertals; neither was it directly ancestral to any other races of the Old Stone Age, or to any existing species of man. In other words it "represents a side branch of the human family which has left no descendants at all". This is rather disconcerting to those of us who would be glad to claim as a remote ancestor one with such high-bred cranial contours, and who see in Piltdown a very suitable stump to which to attach a family tree.

The author's reasons for rejecting *Eoanthropus* are no doubt based on the Piltdown lower jaw; but Miller's recent convincing demonstration that this jaw belongs to a fossil chimpanzee and not to the Piltdown skull would seem to place the latter once more in the running for direct ancestral honors. Restorations of *Eoanthropus*, therefore, based on the supposition that the skull and mandible of Piltdown belonged together, are faulty: they also emphasize the fact that in the making of restorations there is always present the danger of overstepping the legitimate boundaries of scientific presentation.

One need not linger long over the author's interesting and ample treatment of the better-known archaic Neandertal race, which outstayed its time on the stage, finally making a rather hasty but very effective exit. In its place there came the upper palaeolithic races referred to by the author as Crô-Magnons, and who in his opinion first overran Europe between 25,000 and 30,000 years ago. He does not believe that the negroid Grimaldi race ever became established in Europe as a contemporary of the Crô-Magnons.

The last races of the Old Stone Age were the broad-headed and narrow-headed races of Ofnet. With the broad-headed type are correlated the races of Furfooz and Grenelle, as well as the existing Alpine brachycephals; while the narrow-headed type resembles the modern

"Mediterranean" type of Sergi. The Old Stone Age racial factors are effectively summarized graphically by means of a tree showing the main theoretic lines of descent.

Interwoven with this story of the successive races is a fund of information bearing on the contemporary faunas and their influence on the course of human progress. This is a subject upon which the author is peculiarly fitted to speak with authority, and in these features the merits of the work reach their highest level.

To the specialist the treatment of the culture stages, although possessing genuine merit, is not quite so convincing. At times there is apparent a tendency to pronounce the final word on controverted questions. This tendency is borne of an enthusiasm which comes of traversing new fields of unusual interest; an enthusiasm which possesses the virtue of being contagious, whatever may be its faults, for no one can deny the attractiveness of the presentation.

The author has been especially generous in the matter of illustrations, which are notable alike for the care with which they have been selected, their number, and their general excellence. All points considered, *Men of the Old Stone Age* outranks any other work on that subject hitherto published in the English language, and is thus assured of a wide field of usefulness.

A History of Babylonia and Assyria. By ROBERT WILLIAM ROGERS, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D., F.R.G.S., Professor in Drew Theological Seminary. Sixth edition. In two volumes. (New York, Cincinnati: The Abingdon Press. 1915. Pp. xxvi, 542; xix, 609.)

ROGERS'S *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, which appeared in 1900, has been often reprinted. Since its appearance great advances have been made in Assyriological study, notably for the early Assyrian period through the excavations of the German Orient Society at Asshur, for the early Babylonian period through the exploration of Susa by De Morgan and Scheil, for the late Babylonian or Chaldaean period by the work of the German Orient Society at Babylon, and for all periods by the important researches of a score or more of independent investigators. The result of these advances is that a book published fifteen years ago is at many points no longer abreast of the times.

The new edition is enlarged nearly one-half. In externals (type, form, binding, etc.) there is no noticeable change, except the increase in bulk. The general division of the material, and the titles of the several books, are also unchanged. Volume I. is devoted to book I., Prolegomena, with thirteen chapters. Eight of these treat of travel, exploration, and excavation in Babylonia and Assyria, and of decipherment of the inscriptions. A chapter of twenty-three pages on the script and languages of the inscriptions is new. The other chapters are on the sources, the lands and peoples of Babylonia and Assyria, and

on the chronology. The chapter on sources has grown from 12 to 24 pages, that on exploration after 1872 from 29 to 81 pages, and that on chronology from 37 to 83 pages.

Volume II., comprising books II. to IV., is devoted to the history. Book II. gives the history of Babylonia in six chapters (132 pp.). The first chapter in the first edition, *History of Babylonia to the Fall of Larsa* (37 pp.), has become three chapters in the new edition (72 pp.), with the titles *Early Sumerian History*, *Empire of Sargon I.*, and *History to the Fall of Larsa*. Book III. is devoted to the history of Assyria, in eleven chapters (350 pp.), as against 295 in the first edition. Book IV., the Chaldaean Empire, consists of three chapters, on Nabopolassar, Nebuchadrezzar, and the last years of the Empire, with 94 pages, an increase of but 8 pages over the first edition.

The appendix has been slightly increased. In addition to a well-selected bibliography, it gives Herodotus's account of the destruction of Sennacherib's army, and two accounts of the defenses of Babylon, one by Herodotus and one by Nebuchadrezzar.

The index of authors has been enlarged by one page (now $3\frac{1}{2}$ pp.). The general index, on the other hand, has been reduced from 18 to 11 pages. A large increase would have been a more welcome change. The defect is met in part by the full table of contents.

The 78 full-page half-tone illustrations are very interesting, except a few which are too indistinct (as at I. 173; II. 370, 374). One wishes more had been given, even at the cost of diminishing the size. The ground of choice is not always obvious. Eight are taken from the recent excavations at Babylon, but none of the ground-plans of the temples and palaces excavated at that place are reproduced. Two illustrations are marked "*The River Euphrates, south of Babylon*" (I. 130, 420). One would have sufficed. The absence of plans of the ruins and excavations (only one given, I. 310) is a defect. In view of the vast mass of geographical reference, the entire absence of maps is much more serious.

Professor Rogers has produced an independent piece of work. He is well acquainted with the work of his colleagues in this field, and is generous in making acknowledgments. The style is vivacious, almost exuberant. In accounts of exploration and decipherment there is a tendency to excess of biographical detail.

In regard to plan and scope two general comments may be offered. One relates to the selection of material. Should a history be so largely a record of the deeds of kings? That it should, was undoubtedly the view of Assyrian and Babylonian rulers. But to the modern mind the life of the people, the art, the religion, the literature, the work of the jurists, the scholars, the poets, are at least as important as the boastful records of the kings. Assyrian wars are at best rather dismal reading, and the record needs to be relieved by at least a partial representation of the more humane elements of the national life. For this larger treatment space might be gained by judicious condensation.

A second remark relates to proportion. In the first volume the space given to travel, excavation, and decipherment is 353 pages, all interesting and important material, but by discreet omission and condensation the space might be reduced one-half without serious loss. On the other hand the chapters on sources (23 pp.) and the peoples (12 pp.) might profitably be enlarged. That Assyria should fill more than half (350 pp.) of the second volume is perhaps natural, in view of the comparative abundance of material, but when Sargon and his three successors, who reigned less than a century, fill about 45 per cent. of the space devoted to Assyria, the principle of proportion seems to be not well observed. And are these four kings, however interesting, of so nearly equal importance as to deserve each about the same amount of space (41, 41, 34, and 42 pp. respectively)? And if Esarhaddon is worth 34 pages, is not Hammurabi, the most illustrious name in Babylonian history, worth more than 10 (II. 80-90)?

Within the self-imposed limits Professor Rogers has given us a book of sound learning and great excellence, serviceable to specialist and general reader alike. The spirit is conservative, the judgment sane, the treatment objective. In spite of the high cost (\$10.00 net), the book is sure to have the large circulation which it richly deserves.

DAVID G. LYON.

The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria: its Remains, Language, History, Religion, Commerce, Law, Art, and Literature. By MORRIS JASTROW, jr., Ph.D., LL.D., Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1915. Pp. xxv, 515.)

PROFESSOR JASTROW'S book is the first attempt on a large scale to present in English a comprehensive account of the Babylonian-Assyrian civilization. It treats in a most entertaining way all the main branches of the subject.

The frontispiece gives pictures of eight of the explorers, decipherers, and interpreters. The text is illustrated by a good map, and by 76 plates, some of which contain not one but several pictures. The selection and reproduction are admirable. The type is large, and the mechanical part of the work excellent. An index of 18 pages is a welcome feature.

Of course, none of the subjects are treated exhaustively, but all sufficiently to give the reader a fair view of the more important phases of the civilization. In the chapter on exploration and excavation the space is given almost entirely to the names (French, English, American, and German) of large accomplishment, while the less important are omitted, or disposed of in a few words. The same is true of the decipherment, in which the great names are Grotefend, Rawlinson, and Hincks.

The survey of the history begins with the obscure period of the struggles between Semites and Sumerians, and proceeds to sketch in broad outlines the relations of Babylonians, and later of Assyrians, to Elamites, Amorites, Egyptians, Hittites, Hebrews, and other nations. We get instructive glimpses of the shifting of empire, and of such great rulers as Gudea, Sargon, Hammurabi, Assurbanipal, and Nebuchadnezzar.

Nearly a fifth of the book is devoted to the religion (gods, cult, and temples), a subject which the author treats *con amore*, because it is one which he has made peculiarly his own, and in which he has made significant contributions to the science of Assyriology. The religion is a mixture of Semitic and Sumerian elements. One cannot read the chapter on the gods without feeling an agreeable kind of acquaintance with Shamash, the judge; Marduk, the merciful; Adad, the thunderer; Sin, the nocturnal illuminator; Asshur, the warrior; Ishtar, the love-goddess; and a score of other deities. The terra-cotta representations of these gods are crude and grotesque, but the representations in stone are often dignified and noble.

Cults and Temples is not exactly fortunate as the title of the fifth chapter, which is devoted so largely to demonology, magic, incantation, and portents. The chapter on law and commerce consists mainly of a summary of the Hammurabi Code, with illustrations drawn from records of business transactions. These give a varied picture of trade, marriage, law-suits, wills, adoption of children, and the multifarious aspects of a well-regulated social system. The chapter on art describes briefly the architecture, sculpture, pottery, tombs, gem-engraving, and work in metals. Many of the great masterpieces are reproduced and described in detail, as the Entemena vase, the Naram-Sin stele, the ornaments of the bronze gates, and the diorite statue of a woman (p. 394). The great centres of culture, Lagash, Nippur, Babylon, and many others are thus brought before us in a most interesting way. The chapter on literature gives selections from the hymns, prayers, mythological poems, letters, reports, etc.

There is an occasional slip in proof-reading. On page 307 a line seems to have dropped out at the end of the first sentence. On page 41, bottom, two are reversed, and on page 40, middle, a line is repeated. The author's familiarity with the large and rapidly growing literature is attested by numerous foot-notes, which the reader can use as a guide for detailed study.

Dr. Jastrow's fertility in suggestion is charming, and often illuminating, but not always convincing. The statement (p. 314) that a certain treatment of slaves is due to "a regard to their feelings of pride" seems fanciful. The law prescribes that a native Babylonian who has been a slave in his native land, if bought by a trader in a foreign land, brought back to Babylonia, and recognized by his original owner, shall be set free "without money". The basis of this law is obscure, but it

can hardly be that suggested by Professor Jastrow. We may suppose that the slave was not a runaway, but that he had been carried off by a raid of the enemy. As a captive in a foreign land, he was permanently lost to his owner. If therefore he came home again, not by recapture, nor by effort of his owner, this owner could not have any just claim on him. It is not so clear why the trader who bought him in the foreign country must liberate him. There are many possibilities. The man who had been a slave at home may have been living at liberty in the land of his captors, as the Jews did in the Babylonian Exile.

In §§ 131, 132 of the Code (p. 311), relating to the suspect wife, the essential difference in the two laws is that in one case only the husband complains or is suspicious, the matter is private, while in the second case the wife is the subject of public gossip or scandal. In regard to the husband carried off as captive (p. 312, l. 4), we are informed that "making provision" for the support of his wife is "an indication of the husband's intent to return". The question of his intention is not at all involved in these two laws. Of course he will return if he can. The only question is, whether the estate of the captive is sufficient to support his wife in his enforced absence. If it is not, she is at liberty to remarry.

Of course in a book with such a mass of details occasional errors are inevitable. One such is the statement that votaries and priestesses never married (p. 308). On the most probable interpretation of paragraphs 144-146 of the Code it is evident that they did marry, and such marriage of a priestess of Marduk in the reign of Ammiditana is recorded at length in *Cuneiform Texts VIII* (=85-5-12, 10). On page 311, line 6 (adultery), the correct statement is not that king or husband might spare the guilty wife, but that the king might spare the guilty man, if the husband spares the guilty wife. On page 313, line 5, it is stated that a man may not marry his father's widow. It should be added, provided she has borne children to the father. The presumption is that marriage of a father's widow, who has not borne children, is legitimate. The statement that the adopted children of paragraphs 193, 194, of the Code are illegitimate (p. 304), although this is the view generally held, is not proven, and is highly improbable.

But such items, though blemishes, affect the value of this great work only in minor degree. In spite of them the treatment as a whole shows great care and mastery of the subject. The book is indispensable to one who wishes to have in a single volume a comprehensive and authoritative presentation of the larger aspects of Babylonian-Assyrian civilization. Those who desire a fuller treatment of some of the themes covered by Jastrow's book may find it in such works as Booth's *Trilingual Cuneiform Inscriptions*, King's *Sumer and Akkad*, King's *History of Babylon*, Hancock's *Mesopotamian Archaeology*, Rogers's *Cuneiform Parallels*, Rogers's *History*, and Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*.

DAVID G. LYON.

Hellenic Civilization. Edited by G. W. BOTSFORD, Professor of History, Columbia University, and E. G. SIHLER, Professor of the Latin Language and Literature, New York University. With Contributions from Professor WILLIAM L. WESTERMANN, CHARLES J. OGDEN, Ph.D., and Others. [Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, edited by James T. Shotwell, Professor of History, Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1915. Pp. xiii, 719.)

SOURCE-BOOKS have now become a standardized tool in the American manufacture of munitions for teaching the secondary and collegiate historical idea to shoot; and where the individual specimen submitted to him, is marked neither by defects nor by superlative excellencies, the reviewer is tempted to moralize about the species.

Professor Botsford and his colleagues have collected here in convenient compass and in sufficiently accurate translation, the texts for a survey of the actual course of Greek history, and a large number of the aptest and most familiar quotations from the literature, the historians, the inscriptions, and the recent papyri in illustration of such topics as the Minoan and Homeric Civilization, Colonization, Government and Political Conditions, Economy and Society, Private and Criminal Law, Medical Science, Interstate Relations, Literary Criticism and Art, Science and Inventions. Even scholars when in a hurry will find the bibliography and the pertinent quotations of this volume a convenience for themselves, though they may deprecate the temptations it will present to their sociological and historical colleagues to generalize on insufficient evidence.

To the intelligent collegian who uses it rightly, the book ought to make the study of Greek civilization a far more vivid and significant thing than it ever could have been to a less fortunate earlier generation unprovided with the *χορηγία* or external muniments that are deemed essential for Aristotelian happiness and twentieth-century education. But will it? Teachers aware of the quantum of Greek history and literature actually retained by those pupils who are presumed to know most, will wonder how much a Greekless and Latinless generation of high school and undergraduate students will digest of the bounteous feast here spread before them. The cooks are cunning, the menu choice and elaborate; but how much will the diners assimilate if they refuse to take exercise? To drop the allegory, can the modern study of history find a way to dispense with or circumvent those elementary prescriptions of sound historical teaching which the new pedagogy discards—severe discipline in the interpretation of texts, direct memorizing of an indispensable minimum of facts?

But commending these queries to the prayerful consideration of my colleagues in history, I must return to my text. The introductory chapter on the Sources of Hellenic History is in effect a primer of Greek

literature from this special point of view. Its judgments are not intended to be definitive, and it would be captious to scrutinize them too curiously. The statement that Thucydides's philosophy "has taught him that as a rule the individual counts for little in history" will puzzle a student who observes the fateful rôles in the destiny of Athens which he assigns to Pericles and to Alcibiades. From Tyrtaeus's line "Greed for money will undo Sparta and nothing else" Professor Botsford infers that "the social conditions at Sparta in the seventh century were quite different from those of the fifth and fourth centuries". They probably were: but in view of Plato's bitter fourth-century satire, *τιμῶντες ἀγρίως ἐπὶ σκότον χρυσόν* (*Republic*, 548a), I doubt if Tyrtaeus's words will bear the weight of the inference.

There would be little point in attempting to criticize the choice of the selections. The classical loci for Greek history have been repeatedly excerpted or cited by the historians; and the most significant of them are all to be found here, so far as space permits. The bibliographies too, though not exhaustive and sometimes a little capricious, are sufficient, and are helpfully brought down to date: the translations, when not, as is usually the case, merely revision of accepted versions, are more open to criticism—not perhaps the main body of historical excerpts supervised by Professor Botsford, but the specimens of Greek poetry entrusted to his assistants. The translation of Semonides's satire on women for example, if, as appears from the printing, intended for metre, is a baffling mixture of very blank verse and "verse-libertinism". And its diction whatever else it may be is neither Greek nor English.

PAUL SHOREY.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY

Sources and Literature of English History from the Earliest Times to about 1485. By CHARLES GROSS. Second edition. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1915. Pp. xxiii, 820.)

THE appearance of a new edition of a good book provides an opportunity to call attention anew to its excellence and to give information of its existence to those who do not know of it, if there are any such in the case of such a standard work as Gross's *Bibliography of English History*; as well as to state and appreciate the improvements which have been added in the new edition. In this case, the original excellence cannot be too often adverted to and the improvements now made are by no means few. Immediately upon the publication of the original work, in 1900, Professor Gross began to collect material for a new edition. By 1909 when his death occurred, he had collected a very large number of titles of works which had appeared since 1900 or which had been omitted from the first edition, and had noted various other changes which he felt ought to be made. There was a very general wish on

the part of historical students that these materials should be utilized, even though the lamented death of the original compiler made it impossible to do this in the ideal way. This task has now been performed jointly by a committee of his colleagues of the historical faculty at Harvard, his relatives, and by no means least, according to the testimony of the editors, the young woman who had assisted in the preparation of the first edition. All scholars owe a debt of gratitude to these collaborators. The original work has long stood as a model of what a bibliography should be, but no guide to a growing body of production can remain entirely adequate.

The principal advantage of this new edition is, naturally, its enrichment with new titles. Of these there are between 1300 and 1400. Including subordinate references to other works this brings the total number of books described well up toward 5000 titles. The greater number of the new titles are of works that appeared between 1900 and 1910. Beyond the latter date the editors have made no attempt at completeness, although fortunately they have included quite a number of works which have come to their attention published since 1910. They have also filled in many omissions of earlier works from the first edition. Another improvement consists in bringing down to date new editions, continuations of older works, and extensions of series of government publications. The 180 volumes of the Historical Manuscripts Commission *Reports* listed in this as compared with the 85 of the first edition is an instance of this and a measure of the rapid progress of our time in making historical sources accessible. Some of these entries, however, are duplications, included for good reasons, and some few are probably accounted for by the entirely new method of classification adopted by the English government in the publication of this particular series. Practically the whole series of "Lists and Indexes" given here has appeared since 1900.

The editors have conferred a favor on users of the bibliography by retaining the numbers used in the first edition, providing for new items by using subordinate numbers and interspersing them with the older entries. In this way an additional advantage is obtained by calling attention to works that have recently appeared. Occasionally whole groups of new books thus appear in the work, the most notable instance being the addition of a list of works on Celtic philology. Apart from a few groups of this kind, the new entries seem to be scattered pretty evenly through the work. It is in fact hard to infer from them, as one would like to do, any special direction in recent English historical study, so far at least as it is directed to the Middle Ages.

Finally, the valuable introductory paragraphs to many of the separate sections of the first edition, giving an informal discussion based on the wide scholarly knowledge of the editor, are retained in this edition and in many cases extended by the wider knowledge of several scholars co-operating in their preparation. It is pleasant to find, not-

withstanding the extensive changes, the same typography and appearance to which we have become accustomed in the earlier edition. This new edition not only guarantees the continued accessibility of a work which was sure otherwise eventually to become hard to obtain, but is a valuable improvement upon the original.

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY.

An Introduction to the Economic History of England. By E. LIPSON, Trinity College, Cambridge. Volume I. *The Middle Ages.* (London: A. and C. Black. 1915. Pp. viii, 552.)

THIS volume is an achievement in diligent culling and combining rather than in fresh and reasoned exposition. It is intended to serve the student who wishes to be told concisely what has been ascertained from printed sources and secondary books about early English economic development. The author is not a reader of manuscripts; he nowhere reveals new sources of information; he seldom attempts to revise accepted doctrines. Yet his laborious search has at times fortified these doctrines, has at other times put them in a new light.

The success of such a work depends largely upon the writer's sense of proportion and upon his comprehensive reading. In neither respect is Mr. Lipson altogether free from reproach. More than one-half of his pages are devoted to town life and industry, less than one-third to agriculture, barely one-eighth to trade and finance. The second fraction, furthermore, attains its magnitude only by embracing a chapter on the agrarian revolution of the sixteenth century. Does Mr. Lipson mean to imply that the Middle Ages ended a century later in agriculture than, according to his own exposition, they did in industry and commerce? The chapter, too, has shortcomings. In it the relative importance of the causes of sixteenth-century rural unrest is not investigated, no comparison of enclosures and increased fines, for example, being undertaken. The numerous surveys of the period do not show that peasant holdings were to any extent consolidated before 1500; nor was the laying together of strips then usual.

More serious than the intrusion of a chapter on a later period is the inadequate treatment of agriculture, trade, and finance before 1500. The tale of the manor is told in the set phrases now grown dull—without inquiry into the diversity of manorial economy which a passing acquaintance with extents and bailiffs' rolls would have revealed to the author. The appearance of a cash nexus, the development of markets for agricultural produce, the rise of new tenures, are the interesting agrarian problems of the late Middle Ages, although Mr. Lipson gives them little attention. If he is to be excused for this because secondary works are unsatisfactory, the same pardon cannot be extended to his treatment of English foreign trade. Here he offends through disregard of important German and French contributions. No sign of acquaintance with Schaube's valuable studies is betrayed in bibliography or text,

nor does Davidsohn or Pirenne fare better. The reader would scarcely gather that Italians and Flemings had played a leading rôle in English export trade before 1350. The best account of Hanseatic merchants in England, that by Schulz, has escaped Mr. Lipson's notice, as has the rest of the extensive German literature about these traders, Schanz alone excepted. The surprisingly slight chapter on finance, too, will have to be rewritten in view of what has been explained by Sir James Ramsay, Mitchell, Gras, Lunt, and Willard.

The core of the volume, however, concerns the towns and their industrial life, there being long chapters on markets and fairs, the gild merchant, the crafts, and the woollen industry. Of these topics, that which offered Mr. Lipson the best opportunity to arrange and extend our knowledge is a treatment of markets and fairs. Yet the chapter is disappointing, largely from a failure to distinguish at the outset the relative significance of the two kinds of marts. As the author does at length point out, markets existed for purposes of local trade, were normal and essential phenomena in every city, borough, and market town; fairs had national and even international significance. Subjects thus contrasted demand separate treatment, present different problems for solution. The reader, too, feels badly oriented when he has to wait until the end of the chapter to learn what were the chief English fairs and when they originated. Nor does he ever learn much about the commodities exchanged, the provenance and quantity of them.

Relative to the gild merchant, a subject already monumentally treated, Mr. Lipson has written two of his most suggestive discussions. He contends that privileges granted to travelling merchants or to the inhabitants of certain towns did after all override the trade monopoly of the gild. In describing the earliest crafts, he argues further that the thirteenth-century conflict between weavers and burgesses was not that between poor and rich, or that between foreigners and natives, but was political in character, due to the purchase by weavers of royal privileges which conflicted with borough customs. His account of the crafts, fuller though it is than Ashley's, is less clear-cut. It does not fairly meet the question of the growth of inequality in wealth within the crafts through the possible increase of a master's apprentices. Scanty consideration is given to Unwin's theory of the development of terminal crafts into groups of petty entrepreneurs, while the origin of the London drapers, a serious problem, is entirely disregarded.

A brief description of capitalistic enterprise does occur in the chapter on the woollen industry, one of the most useful in the book. Here Mr. Lipson essays to correct Professor Ashley in various points. Capitalist clothiers appeared at the end of the fourteenth century, not toward the middle of the fifteenth. Cloths were extensively manufactured in England in the thirteenth century and were even exported; Edward III. revived an old industry which had declined, instead of creating a new one. Such discussions as these, supported as they are by the evi-

dence at hand (though one should not rely too much upon "Stamfords" in Milan and Spain), give Mr. Lipson's chapters their independent value. He is able at times to supplement Gross, Ashley, and Cunningham, writers whom he seldom equals in originality of thought and lucidity of expression. His volume, none the less, is a most useful handbook for the beginner and no one can afford to neglect his judicious summary of evidence winnowed from newly published borough records.

H. L. GRAY.

A History of France. By J. R. MORETON MACDONALD. In three volumes. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1915. Pp. xiv, 366; 399; 551.)

A COMPREHENSIVE and balanced history of France embodying the chief conclusions of modern investigation would be welcome to a large class of readers and would contribute to the general enlightenment. It cannot be said, however, that this service has been rendered by the work before us and the chief reason is indicated by the author himself in his preface. Writing from France at the end of May, 1915, he says that he is conscious that he has

overstated the temperamental characteristics, and in particular the temperamental weaknesses, of the French. The truly remarkable way in which, under the present trial, France has purified herself of her traditional vices and developed virtues which were supposed to be quite alien to her character drives one to the conclusion, not only that the temperamental qualities of nations change more rapidly than we have been accustomed to think, but also that they are often only qualities which have been foisted on nations by noisy minorities.

Whatever may be meant by noisy minorities foisting temperamental qualities upon nations, and the phrase is utterly baffling, the conclusion to which the reviewer is driven is, not that France has suddenly changed—a most unlikely and unhistorical proceeding—but that the author is very far from understanding the people whose history he has undertaken to write. Our confidence in his judgment and penetration is not increased when we read in the next paragraph that Frenchmen "live by instinct rather than by tradition", that "the range of their political vision is short", and that they lack the historical sense. One thing is clear at the outset. We have to do with another history of France written from the point of view of stiff British conservatism.

Mr. Macdonald's book covers the annals of France from Roman times down to 1871, in a little less than twelve hundred pages. The space assigned to the various periods is judicious. The first volume ends with Louis XII., the second with the removal of Louis XVI. to Paris in 1789, the third with the treaty of Frankfort. Some of the summaries in the first two volumes are excellent for their concision and clearness, as, for instance, those describing the Merovingian monarchy, Charlemagne, Louis XI., Sully, Richelieu, and Mazarin. The

author writes mainly of politics and war, giving much attention to military campaigns and some even to the technique of war. It is curious that in a narrative frequently clogged with a multitude of details and with dates galore you look in vain for the dates of Crécy and Poitiers. The treatment of the Renaissance is a brief and inadequate presentation of a significant phase of French development. The treatment of the Reformation is almost entirely political and military, yet the French Reformation was much more than a political movement conducive to civil wars.

It is when he reaches the Revolution, however, that the author becomes a particularly unsafe guide. We hear the same old refrain, in vogue ever since Edmund Burke published his blazing pamphlet, and verily not needing repetition. It is the "incendiary mob" that dominates the situation from the summer of 1789. Mirabeau is "the only statesman among dreamers". The storming of the Bastille is "the first great triumph of the forces of anarchy masquerading in the sheep's clothing of constitutionalism". The "failure of the men of 1789" indirectly provoking the deplorable excesses of the Revolution, "should be a warning to all politicians who sacrifice principle to power and accept the dictation of the proletariat". As to the division of France into departments, "the abandonment of local history and traditions was part and parcel of the stupid craving for absolute symmetry and uniformity which possesses a certain type of politician. It possessed the revolutionary politicians in very high degree, making them always eager to abandon tradition for ideas, in this case for mere mathematical precision. Complete severance with the past was one of the crazes and blemishes of the Revolution" (III. 5).

So much for the prevailing note of this account of the modern history of France. Moreover that account contains many errors of fact. The Declaration of the Rights of Man was not compiled "on the lines of that which appeared in the American Constitution" (II. 393) for the excellent reason that there was at that time no such section in that document, if by "American Constitution" is meant the Constitution of the United States. The Tennis Court oath was taken on June 20, not on June 21, 1789 (II. 385). The anniversary of the storming of the Bastille was not celebrated on June 14, 1790, because that was not the anniversary (III. 8). The Legislative Assembly was not elected under the influence of the September Massacres for the reason that those elections occurred in the summer of 1791 and the massacres in September, 1792 (III. 252). The Convention first met on September 20, 1792, not on October 20 (III. 24). Sieyès was not "the real author" of the Constitution of 1795 but on the contrary had practically nothing to do with its making (III. 61). Napoleon had nothing like 250,000 men in the Peninsula at the beginning of his Spanish adventure (III. 160). Pius VI. did not excommunicate Napoleon in 1809 (III. 172) nor was he at Fontainebleau on January 25, 1813 (III. 194), because he had

died in 1799. The first treaty of Paris was not signed on April 30, 1814, but on May 30 (III. 225). The electoral law of February 5, 1817, did not remain in force "for thirty years" (III. 257) but for only three years. Moreover in the very next paragraph the author refers, for our mystification, to "the electoral law of 5 September, 1817". The statement that Odilon Barrot was the leader of the Republican party in France about 1840 is amazing (III. 291) and is in contradiction with the statement three pages later (III. 294) that he was the leader of the Dynastic Left. The plébiscite of 1851 was held on December 20, not on December 30 (III. 318). Most emphatically Lesseps was not sent to Rome in 1849 "to arrange terms of peace at any price" (III. 313).

Speaking of Lamartine, whom he has previously characterized as a "great political hypnotist" and as having had an "ascendancy over all" parties under Louis Philippe, which is certainly news, the author states, "It is this dominance of Lamartine that makes the whole period of the Second Republic such a strange episode in government; almost laughable in its blunders, capricious contradictions, and inconsequences" (III. 300). It would be difficult to compress more misconceptions into a single phrase. After this it is perhaps unnecessary to point out that Bismarck was not at the Congress of Paris in 1856 (III. 327); that the Polish insurrection occurred in 1863, not 1862, as apparently stated on page 338 (vol. III.); that Bismarck did not hurry "ostentatiously to the side of Russia" and that his "unsolicited overtures" did not end in "an agreement between the two Powers for joint action (February 8, 1862)", one reason at least being that he did not enter the Prussian ministry until September, 1862 (III. 339).

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

An Economic History of Russia. By JAMES MAVOR, Ph.D., Professor of Political Economy, University of Toronto. In two volumes. (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1914. Pp. xxxii, 614; xxi, 630.)

THE Anglo-Saxon world should welcome a pioneer work whose object is "to present to English readers the main result of recent historical researches which have been conducted by various Russian scholars". Professor Mavor has very conveniently divided his two massive volumes into seven books of about equal length and has covered the economic history of Russia from its beginning to 1907.

In certain external aspects of the book, the author may be unfavorably criticized. No uniform system of transliteration has been used throughout the work. Moreover, the author does not spell correctly in his transliterations, as when he transliterates the letter III by "tsch" in English (I. 40 ff.). It must be either "shch" or "shtch" or something similar. Frequent grammatical errors, such as the use of the

genitive plural "yamskikh" (I. 132) for the nominative singular, have crept in. *Teurks* is used for *Turks*, *Khersonessus* of *Tauridas* for *Tauric Chersonese*, *Loparian* for *Lap*, etc. (I. 576 ff). On the other hand, it may be said without hesitation that the author uses the Russian language ably for purposes of research. The work is not founded largely on documentary, but, with a few exceptions, on secondary material which indeed is often the best that exists. There is occasionally some confusion as to the old and new style in chronology.

In tracing the economic history of Russia to 1762 in the First Book, the author follows closely the famous work of the late Kliuchevski, Russia's best synthetic historian. Previously, a clear outline of the economic history of that period did not exist, even though it may be found imbedded with much other material in the work just mentioned. In describing Slavic origins with so much detail, Professor Mavor might have used the works of Niederle, Florinski, Peisker, and Hrushevski, not to mention others. In this he is less an anthropologist than an historian, and more an economist than anything. The account of Kievan Russia is excellent, and the great changes brought about by the Mongol conquest are on the whole adequately treated. The rise of bondage is admirably traced, and the field is cleared of the false scholarship which claimed that serfdom began with the ukase of 1597. The economic achievements of Peter the Great, as well as his place in history, are exalted above the views current among Russian and Western scholars alike, and for the first time, the author shows his independence, even in the face of such excellent authority as that of Miliukov.

The Second Book is devoted to the fall of bondage right and to an analysis of agriculture under bondage. Here a minute examination of great value is made of all kinds of agricultural peasants in the eighteenth century. This is based largely on the researches of Semevski, whose works have superseded those of Bielaiev. The chapter (IX.) on the literary movement so far as it affected the peasant question would bear expansion, because of the important part literature played in Russian history. Disappointing likewise is the chapter on the Slavophiles and the *mir*. The examination of the *mir* does not go back far enough historically, and it strangely fails to give the present state of Russian research on this thorny question. The chapter (XIII.) on the editing commission is an able one. Especially illuminating here is the author's description of the line-up of liberal and reactionary forces, of the martyrdom of the liberal Rostovtsev, who died of overwork, and of the reactionary opacity of his successor, Panin.

The Third Book covers the subjects of the fall of bondage and industry under bondage. On the whole, this is one of the most interesting parts of the work, even though serfdom and not industry occupies the centre of the stage. The author has depended here almost wholly on the excellent works of Semevski and Tugan-Baranovski, the standard authorities in the field. Now and then the results of pamphlet litera-

ture are thrown on the screen, making the whole a valuable piece of work. Most illuminating is the struggle of the Kustarnaia Izba or Home Work against the factory system, the final supremacy of the latter, and the transformation of the former into an "artistic and philanthropic" industry. The final chapter, which sums up the gradual triumph of protection, is a useful bit of synthesis and shows the author at his best.

In the Fourth Book, the modern political and social revolutionary movement in Russia prior to 1903 is discussed. The story of Pugachev's revolt, 1773-1775, is told in a most pleasing narrative based almost wholly on Dubrovin's exhaustive work. The revolt of the Dekabristi, 1824-1825, which is called "the first modern revolutionary movement in Russia", is inadequately treated. The introduction to the part played by socialism in the revolutionary movement is undoubtedly valuable in itself, but much of it could have been condensed, because the V Narod (To be of the People) movement was "characteristically Russian" and steeped in the philosophy of Bakunin. In the chapters on the V Narod movement and on the more actively revolutionary Narodnaia Volia (The People's Will), which dashed itself to pieces against the police bureaucracy by 1887, the author actually weaves together a new account of this period. Important also is the description of the gradual emergence of Marxism, as evidenced by the growth of the Social Democratic movement begun in 1885. The existence of a revived and radical revolutionary state of mind just before the Russo-Japanese War is ably traced. The same, however, cannot be said of the treatment of the Far East, which is founded on meagre sources and which constitutes by far the weakest part of the whole work. The treaty of Aigun (1858) is passed over too lightly, while to state that the Franco-Russian Entente (?) had melted away in 1898 and 1904 (II. 236, 240) is too strong.

The Fifth Book is devoted to the complicated agrarian question. The observations on peasant character and classes, the primitive family, the *pomieshchik* or landlord, and the condition of agriculture since 1861 are valuable to the Western reader. Perhaps most interesting is the analysis of the peasantry in 1905, in which the author reaches the conclusion that just before the revolution the peasant became inoculated with a revived Bakuninism in which the cry was for the nationalization of the land and the destruction of the state. Illuminating also is the author's conclusion that the Russian peasant revolted because he wished to hasten the improvement of his condition and not because his condition was desperate.

The Sixth Book, devoted to the industrial development of Russia under capitalism, shows how gradually the artisan came to blame the government for his woes. In contrast to the peasant, the artisan wished the state organization of industry and hence a powerful state. The brief chapters on wages, housing, and factory legislation are suggestive,

if not conclusive, while that on the labor movement and another on the employers' association help to round out a very difficult subject. This part of the field is hardly ready for scientific historical work.

The Seventh and last Book deals with the revolutionary movement in Russia, 1903-1907. It is to be regretted that it does not weave together the loosely connected narrative of the preceding six books and point out more clearly the antithesis which existed between the peasant and the artisan. An important portion of the book is given over to the part played by Father Gapon in the revolution. Though personally weak, he succeeded in creating the "first real legal trade union" which destroyed the faith of the common people in the Czar and thus removed the last obstacle to the grasp of violent hands at the inalienable rights of man. The story of the general strikes, of the Black Hundred Pogroms, and of the Counter-Revolution is interesting. It is to be regretted, however, that the author did not continue his study beyond 1907, because it might have been written from as trustworthy material as any used for the account of the last decade.

Although the secondary material used by Professor Mavor is of a very high character, one often finds that he has neglected works of capital importance. He does not appear to have used Chervinski's bibliography, nor Ustrialov, Polevoi, Danielson, Wittchevsky, Sering, Semenov, Iermolov, Sviatlovsky, Cherniavski, Kulczycki, Masaryk, nor Afassa, not to mention others. Financial history has received less attention than it should, and commerce has been passed practically unnoticed. Nevertheless, it may be said that Professor Mavor has written a work which is indispensable to English readers in many ways and which, in spite of the limitations mentioned above, will long remain the best general account of the economic history of Russia in the Western European languages, if not in any language.

R. J. KERNER.

History of the Norwegian People. By KNUT GJERSET, Ph.D., Professor of Norwegian Language, Literature, and History, Luther College, Decorah, Iowa. In two volumes. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1915. Pp. xv, 507; xi, 626.)

ON May 17, 1814, after four centuries of union with Denmark, Norway formally resumed her place among the independent monarchies of Europe. Two years ago the centennial anniversary of this event was celebrated not only in Norway but in the Norwegian settlements of the American Northwest. As a part of this celebration the leading historical scholars of Norway undertook to write a co-operative history of the kingdom. This interest in the Norwegian past also extended to our own country and in 1915 it bore fruit in Dr. Gjerset's *History of the Norwegian People*.

It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that Dr. Gjerset's work must be classed among the more important historical publications of the

past year. Until it came from the press there was no adequate account of Norwegian history in any English work. Bain's *Scandinavia* deals almost exclusively with the modern period and has very little to say about Norway except in the closing chapter, and this is written from the Swedish point of view. Dr. Gjerset deals primarily with Norway, but he has also found it necessary to travel over much of the ground that Bain has covered. His viewpoint is confessedly Norwegian, but he has been remarkably successful in maintaining a fair and tolerant attitude toward the countries with which Norway has come into conflict. In tracing the difficulties between the Norwegians and the Swedes which culminated in the revolution of 1905, his effort has been to state the facts without attempting either to justify or to condemn; he has striven to write "without any spirit of antagonism against the noble and heroic Swedish people, who are and will be Norway's truest friends".

The first volume carries the story down to 1319, in which year the native Norwegian dynasty expired and the crown passed to alien kings. The greater part of the second volume deals with the "middle period", the five centuries following 1319; this was a period of national eclipse, of the short-lived union of Kalmar, of Danish control, and of the gradual revival of Norwegian nationality. The remainder, about one-third of the volume, is devoted to the "modern period", the century since 1814. Nearly one-half of the entire work is concerned with the history of three centuries: the twelfth, the thirteenth, and the nineteenth. This would seem to indicate a somewhat distorted perspective on the author's part, but the facts of the subject appear to justify him in distributing the space as he does: the enduring achievements of the Norwegian people lie chiefly in the periods that he has emphasized.

Dr. Gjerset has kept in mind the fact that the history of a "people" must be more than an account of dynastic ambitions and political movements; his work has therefore been made to include a great deal of material of a general sort dealing with the social and intellectual life of the nation. Among the subjects of this type which the author has treated with some fullness are the culture of prehistoric times, the viking raids, the Norwegian colonies, the literary achievements of medieval and of recent times, social life, governmental institutions, religious movements, and the emigration to the New World.

The least satisfactory part is the long and rather uninteresting story of the middle period. But it is also true that no writer on Norwegian history has ever approached this period with much enthusiasm. In great measure the history of the age is Danish history, Norway being little more than a province of Denmark. Even in those parts of the history which are specifically Norwegian, the leading characters and dominating personalities are Danish viceroys and other officials from the southern kingdom. But although Norwegian nationality was completely submerged during the "Danish time", the liberty of the indi-

vidual was never lost. The story of how the Norwegian farmers fought the alien officials, how they resisted every encroachment on their ancient rights, and how they maintained their freedom is told in vivid English and forms one of the most important and interesting parts of Dr. Gjerset's work.

The author has read widely in the sources of Norwegian history, especially in the literature of the Middle Ages; but on the whole, his work impresses one as being largely a compilation. His outlook on the earlier centuries he seems to have derived from P. A. Munch. The title of his history is the same as that of Munch's great work, and he has also adopted Munch's plan of dividing the narrative up into comparatively brief sections instead of chapters of the conventional type. There has, however, been much written on Norse medieval history since Munch's day, and this monographic literature the author has taken into careful account. For the modern period he has found a guide in J. E. Sars, but he has also used the writings of other historians and seems to have covered the literature quite completely.

The reviewer regrets to have to add that the general excellence of the work is marred by a number of inaccuracies, most of which are, however, of slight importance. It is scarcely correct to say that Giraldus "accompanied the Anglo-Norman barons to Ireland" (I. 371); he went later in the retinue of Prince John. Benedict of Peterborough did not write the *Gesta Henrici Secundi* (I. 377) and the Hoveden chronicler was named Roger, not Robert (*ibid.*). Sebastian Cabot was not a Spaniard (II. 181). It is somewhat misleading to speak of Norwegian colonists in Bristol in the fifteenth century (II. 46) and to mention the Shetlands and the Orkneys in connection with legislation for Norway in 1604 (II. 192). The map of the "Norwegian colonial empire" is also misleading; as it makes claims for Norway and Denmark which cannot be defended.

The work is unusually free from typographical errors; the reviewer has noted only one that is of any consequence: Holland (I. 367) should no doubt be Halland. The maps are clear and not burdened with details. The illustrations are excellent and useful. Bibliographical data have been placed in the foot-notes. The index, however, is a disappointment.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

The Normans in European History. By CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, Gurney Professor of History and Political Science, Harvard University. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1915. Pp. viii, 258.)

THE story of *The Normans in European History*, as Professor Haskins tells it, began with the coming of Hrolf the Ganger with his viking band to the Seine valley in the early part of the tenth century and closes with the reign of Roger II. of Sicily, who died in 1154. It is a far cry from medieval Norway to Sicily and farther still from the Norse chief-

tain to the Sicilian despot; but the fact that these two men belong to the same historical series merely illustrates the wonderful adaptability of the Norman race. For nearly three centuries the Norman people played an important part in the history of Europe, especially as "founders and organizers of states"; and the achievements of this period are the theme of Professor Haskins's work.

Beginning with a discussion of the Norman duchy, of the physical characteristics of the land and the significance of the sea that lies before it, the author proceeds to relate the story of how Normandy came to be, and to examine the relative importance of the Norse and the French contributions to Norman civilization. While he does not deny that the Scandinavian influence may have been important, he finds that "in most respects the tangible contribution was slight" (p. 48). From this subject the author passes to a discussion of the social and institutional arrangements of Normandy and of its relationship to the neighboring parts of the French monarchy. Professor Haskins next turns to the career of William the Conqueror and to the story of the conquest and reorganization of the English kingdom. The achievements of Henry II., the third great Norman ruler, are told in connection with the history of the Norman Empire. Professor Haskins objects to the term "Angevin Empire": the Angevin dynasty did not create it; "the centre of the empire was Normandy, its founders were the Norman dukes" (p. 85). He holds that Henry II. was a Norman rather than an English ruler. Henry is associated with English history chiefly because "after the collapse of the Norman empire under his sons, the permanent influence of his work continued to be felt most fully in England" (p. 91). The collapse of the empire the author considers inevitable for physiographic as well as for personal reasons: "the rivers in their courses fought against the Plantagenets" (p. 126). The constitutional development of the reign of Henry II. is carefully outlined. From the subject of the Norman empire Professor Haskins turns to the activities of the Normans in the Mediterranean lands and to the founding of the kingdom of Sicily. The hero of this part of the narrative is Roger II., to whom the author attributes much that was formerly credited to Frederick II.: "it is not too much to call the kingdom of Roger and his successors the first modern state" (p. 233).

Professor Haskins has not overlooked the fact that this strong, orderly race, which accomplished so much in warfare and government, has also made its contribution to the world of culture and civilization. A brief but illuminating account is given of the civilization of the North which the vikings transplanted to French soil. Some attention is also given to the composite civilization of the Sicilian kingdom. The "life and culture" of Normandy are discussed at some length: under this head Professor Haskins discusses, among other things, churches and castles, cities and commerce, schools, monasteries, and the morals of the clergy, the teaching of Lanfranc, the writings of Ordericus Vitalis, and the important library of Bec.

The work is made up of eight lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute in February, 1915. As the conclusions are based largely on papers which the author has published elsewhere, he has not found it necessary to add foot-note references except in rare instances. The reviewer takes pleasure in adding that he has read but few books which combine, to such an extent as this does, the virtues of good historical writing: wide and exact knowledge, rare skill in the presentation of facts, and a style which in addition to Norman strength and orderliness possesses the qualities of elegance and genial humor.

Documents relating to Law and Custom of the Sea. Edited by R. G. MARSDEN. Volume I., A.D. 1205-1648. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. XLIX.] (London: Navy Records Society. 1915. Pp. xl, 561.)

THE present volume makes an interesting addition to the materials in which the student may endeavor to trace the development of maritime law. The records reproduced in it go back as far as the year 1205, while the latest in date belongs to 1648. Of many of the earlier and some of the later documents the original text is Latin, though occasionally there is a French text; but in every such instance an English version is given, accompanied with the original. The transcription and the editing of the texts from the original records have required much labor, care, and expertness and the task appears to have been skillfully performed. The presswork is excellent. But, where only extracts from documents are given, the excerpts are sometimes insufficient to enable one to form a confident opinion as to the subject-matter, while in other cases the interpretations or summaries given in the introduction to the volume are open to question.

For example, it is stated (p. ix) that "before the end of the thirteenth century the supply of war material was being stopped by arrest or capture of the carrying ship", while "sometimes neutrals were politely requested not to do so". In support of the former statement, reference is made to page 21, where an English royal order of 1293 is given for the arrest of a number of Frisian and German ships that had put into English ports under stress of weather and were said to be laden with armor and other military supplies for the enemies of England in France, the arrest to be made in order that the cargoes might be unloaded and disposed of by the owners among the English people. It was also alleged that at least some of the cargoes were enemies' property. This allegation appears not to have been sustained, but the military character of some of the cargoes was unquestionable. There was no capture on the high seas, and there probably never was a time when a government would permit military supplies, when brought within its jurisdiction, to be carried on to its enemies. As to neutrals being "politely requested" not to supply war material, it will be found that the document cited (p. 64) conveyed a request of the King of England to

the Count of Holland not to permit his subjects to furnish armed ships to the Scots, who were then (1336) in rebellion against the English king, or to persons professedly in league with them. This tends to illustrate the antiquity of the distinction between what is now called contraband and the fitting out of ships, which is analogous to the raising or setting on foot of a hostile expedition.

Again, it is stated (p. ix) that "where there was no order to the contrary, enemy goods in a friend's ship condemned the ship". The document cited (p. 66) is in reality a royal order issued in 1337 for the delivery of a Flemish ship as a gift to an English subject who had captured her while she was engaged in transporting "Scottish enemies", some of whom the captor slew in the act of making the capture. The language of the order indicates that the ship was regarded as forfeited to the crown "as a capture from our [Scottish] enemies aforesaid", in other words, as a transport in the enemy's service. Indeed it seems possible that the ship may have been actually owned by enemies (p. 67). The question whether a certain quantity of goods and chattels at the same time captured aboard the ship did not in the circumstances stated belong as of right to the captor was four years later decided adversely to the captor's claim; and as he had retained them, he was held liable for them or their value to the king (p. 69). The value of the royal order of 1346 (p. 75) as proof that a friend's ship, which had been carrying enemy goods, was in that case restored because condemnation in such cases "was soon found, for political reasons, to be inexpedient" (p. x), is impaired by the fact that the order was founded on a particular treaty stipulation. The bare decree of the Admiralty of 1612 (p. 384), directing that certain tobacco imported into England by a Spanish subject be delivered to the Spanish ambassador, does not of itself disclose with certainty the nature of the case. The same comment may be made upon the extract (p. 430) called a "sentence condemning to the captor, as good prize, a ship and corn cargo destined to the enemy". From what is given it would not be safe to infer that the court would have condemned a neutral ship with a cargo of corn destined to the enemy. If the ship, as may be inferred from her name, was English, the ground of condemnation would appear to have been an attempt to trade with the enemy. These examples, as well as others that might be adduced, lead to the conclusion that, valuable as the volume undoubtedly is, its value to legal science might have been enhanced if space had been available for the fuller disclosure of essential facts.

The volume contains the commission issued in 1595 to Hawkins and Drake (p. 284). There are also interesting documents relating to the treatment of enemy goods as well as to reprisals, neutrality, contraband, visit and search, the *voyage de conserve*, impressment, and the Rule of the War of 1756.

The Evolution of the English Corn Market: from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century. By NORMAN SCOTT BRIEN GRAS, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Clark University. [Harvard Economic Studies, vol. XIII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1915. Pp. xiii, 498.)

MR. GRAS'S *Evolution of the English Corn Market* is a detailed and distinctly serviceable contribution to the history of English agriculture, commerce, and shipping, from the time when the manorial system was still intact to the eighteenth century. Mr. Gras opens with the period when it was customary for a manor to supply the deficiency in wheat of another manor under the same ownership, sell some of its surplus in the local markets, and in exceptionally bountiful years export wheat, and traces the development of the corn market to the modern era, when, under acts of Parliament of 1673 and 1689, bounties were paid on exports of wheat. With wheat as an article of commerce Mr. Gras is almost exclusively concerned—its marketing, and the laws and regulations governing its marketing—as distinct from its production. But incidentally the book throws new light on many other aspects of English mercantile and social economy, particularly as regards manorial organization and the decay of the manorial system, the functions of the medieval municipal corporations and gilds as regards the victualling of towns and cities, the fiscal policy of the crown in the days before Parliament was supreme in fiscal policy, the navigation laws of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and the growth of the population of London from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century and the problems—particularly the victualling of London—that this growth created for the municipality and the central government.

As a starting point Mr. Gras takes the system of manorial marketing—a system that was evolved in the early part of the twelfth century, by which time local markets had come into existence, and exchange between the town and country was organized. He then traces the supersession of the manorial marketing system between 1250 and 1500 by the local markets which served particular areas of the wheat-growing shires. The development of the local market area was complete by the second half of the fifteenth century. By that time the needs of each district were supplied by the tenant farmers of the district, instead of by the old manorial markets, embracing not one area but many. Next, in one of the most interesting chapters of the book, Mr. Gras examines the grain regulations of medieval London and of such cities as Bristol and York. These municipal regulations fell into three groups: (1) those dealing with the town as a whole, its government, its relation to its own citizens and to foreign towns; (2) those concerned with the gilds; and (3) those dealing with the relations of citizens with citizens. Regulations for the grain trade came within the third category; and Mr. Gras emphasizes the fact that while many governmental functions

were deputed to the gilds, the supervision of the trade in grain and other victuals was retained by the city magistrates. Paternalism marked the medieval regulation of the grain trade, especially in London, where the authorities at Guildhall not only made such regulations as would give citizens every possible advantage in the purchase of wheat brought to the city markets, but wrought, often with the aid of the central government, to enlarge the area of domestic supply, and even bought and stored grain with a view to safeguarding the poorer citizens during years of scarcity. Following a survey of the corn laws from the first enactment against engrossing, forestalling, and regrating to the law of the Restoration Parliament which gave freedom to anyone to buy wheat in the open market, to store it and sell it again, Mr. Gras devotes two chapters to the middleman in the corn trade—the middleman of medieval days whose field was the local market, and the middleman of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whose field was the London or metropolitan market. Here again interest is wider than the corn trade, as Mr. Gras brings out the change in popular attitude towards the middleman from the days when he was distrusted as superfluous, to the recognition of his usefulness that was accorded by the municipal authorities of London towards the end of the seventeenth century. The appendixes, which run to 200 pages, consist chiefly of statistics concerning the production, importation, and prices of wheat. There is a remarkably good bibliography extending to fifteen pages.

L'Université de Louvain: Conférences données au Collège de France en Février 1915. Par PAUL DELANNOY, Professeur et Bibliothécaire de l'Université de Louvain. (Paris: Auguste Picard. 1915. Pp. xx, 229.)

THIS book owes its origin to the fact that, on August 26, 1914, the German 165th regiment of infantry destroyed the ancient buildings and the famous library of the University of Louvain. The author, professor and librarian of the university, came to Paris after the burning of its home and accepted an invitation to give a course of lectures on the history of the university before the public of the Collège de France. Bound by the limits of this kind of lectures, Professor Delannoy had to single out certain important features of the university's history and was, of course, unable to develop the whole history of the institution. In the six chapters of the book—each of them reproducing one of the six lectures—he deals successively with the foundation of the university in 1425; its organization and privileges; the influence of the university on the introduction of the Renaissance in the Low Countries; the part played by Erasmus in this movement; the struggle of the faculty of theology against Luther; the life of professors and students in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the Austrian rule and the continuous interfering of the Austrian government with the activities of the university; the French régime and the suppression of the university in 1797,

followed by its restoration in 1835. The last chapter deals with the Halles, the ancient central building, and gives the history of the library.

As the book is cleverly composed, Professor Delannoy in fact carries us through the whole history of the institution, each period being represented by and studied in the most important events or the most celebrated scholars.

The aims of the author are modest: he tries to show, by the reproduction of the outstanding features of its history, the part played by the university in the scientific and national life of the country. He has very well succeeded in putting in full light both points.

To those who know the *Fasti Academici* of Valerius Andreas and the *Academia Lovaniensis* of Vernulaeus, together with the general history written by V. Brants, the book of de Robiano, *De Iure Ecclesiae in Universitates Studiorum*, and the history of the faculty of theology by Professor H. De Jongh, the book of Professor Delannoy will not bring many new facts or new considerations. However, as it stands, its study will supply them with valuable information on points hitherto not sufficiently studied and with a carefully chosen bibliography.

The last chapter, giving the history and description of the Halles and of the library, will be appreciated as being the one which contains unknown or incompletely known elements of history, and it will bring home to many people how great were the losses sustained by the university during the destruction of 1914. The sixteen illustrations of the book are well chosen and reproduce some of the pictures and the treasures which are gone forever.

Some corrections ought to be made. Page 14, note 1, the story according to which three Brabantine *seigneurs* sent people to measure the area of Ghent, Liège, Paris, and Cologne, and found out that Louvain was larger in extent than those cities, is a legend. Page 124, the main reason for the decline of the university in the sixteenth century was the presence of the foreign garrisons, who stayed at Louvain to keep it loyal to Philip II., and the frequent disorders of the soldiers, among whom the German mercenaries behaved the most badly. Page 198, it is not because the cloth manufacture was declining that the Cloth Hall was ceded to the growing university in 1432, but owing to the change in the industrial conditions. As the manufacturers were now working at home as operatives of the capitalists, the Cloth Hall was no more needed.

The book of Professor Delannoy is a very readable one: it gives a vivid narrative, based on carefully tested information, and it offers a very good idea of the part played by the university in the scientific and in the national life of Belgium.

The stern words used in the preface to brand the crime of the German soldiers can only be fully understood by those who, like the author, suffered directly from the outrage. He who was the guardian

of the destroyed treasures has certainly the right to cry his contempt and his indignation in the face of the civilized world.

LÉON VAN DER ESSEN.

A History of England and the British Empire. By ARTHUR D. INNES. Volumes III. and IV. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1914, 1915. Pp. xxvi, 550; xxxv, 604, with maps.)

THE present volumes cover the period from 1689 to 1914 and thus bring the work to a fair completion. It is hardly necessary to call attention again to the peculiar weaknesses of this author's style. His haste, moreover, to finish his task is apparent. Thus on page 118, volume III., Louis XIV. dies, but five pages later, he is still alive, hale and hearty at seventy-five, and as capable of mischief as ever. On page 128 the writer gives the mythical despatch of Byng after Passaro but forgets to give the real despatch. On page 275 Wilkes is introduced, but the introducer, curiously enough, like many another master of ceremonies, forgets to give the name of the guest; in this case leaves him before the audience as simply "a disreputable person". The influence of Hume in clearing up the haze that had befogged the Tory mind and enabled the Tory to support a Hanoverian king, "with a clear conscience", is well put; but nothing is said of the far more direct influence of Blackstone's *Commentaries*, or the more widely known *Idea of a Patriot King* of Bolingbroke. In general, the number of obscure passages, of carelessly formed sentences, in which the simplest rules of composition are violated, is so great that it is hardly worth while to list them; a constant and annoying reminder of the haste of the author in completing his book.

This is unfortunate. These volumes are packed with useful and interesting information, and yet they will not be read with pleasure nor their contents be easily mastered by the very class of readers for whom the author confessedly writes. The book has many points of real merit; but in a work of this class, written for the young, haste in the making is deadly.

Of most interest, we take it, are the last thirty pages of the fourth volume, in which is given a summary of the events that have taken place in British history since the death of Queen Victoria. Here are recounted with real skill the bitter struggles over protection and free trade, old age pensions and workingmen's insurance, the obscuration of the Lords, and Lloyd George's famous budgets; over Home Rule in Ireland, Welsh disestablishment, and plural voting, presenting in each case a summary of the arguments on either side, and with such impartiality withal as to give no hint of the author's own sympathies.

This is wise; for, as the author states in the preface, "the natural temptation is to make of such a record something of the nature of a political pamphlet". The alternative the author has frankly accepted: to abstain from pronouncing his own judgments on controversial ques-

tions, and to endeavor to present an exact statement of facts by an accurate exposition of the varying views of the leaders of the opposing parties. Pedagogically this is sound. Its purpose is to enable the student to form an unbiassed opinion for himself. Yet if Englishmen are made up like Americans, this will hardly add to the popularity of the book.

This part of the work is clear, well balanced, and for the most part good. In treating the revolution which has taken place in English foreign policy, however, the author is not so happy. Perhaps it is demanding too much to expect an Englishman to treat the questions raised by the present conflict with the same judicial calmness with which he treats domestic problems. For most of these later pages, apparently, were written after August, 1914. Note particularly the paragraph on "Junkerism and Jingoism" on page 550 of volume IV. Nevertheless, the chapter is a good one. The arrangement is capital. One wishes, in fact, that something of the plan of this last chapter had been followed in the earlier parts of the work.

B. S. T.

La Guerre de Sept Ans: Histoire Diplomatique et Militaire. PAR RICHARD WADDINGTON. Tome V., *Pondichéry-Villinghausen-Schweidnitz*. (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie. 1914. Pp. 446.)

THE late Senator Waddington's important enterprise is advanced very considerably by this volume, which, after an introductory chapter on the progress of the English in India, 1760-1761, follows the 1761 campaign in Central Europe, and traces at length the decisive changes in the situation brought about by the death of Elizabeth in January, 1762. For general explanation or criticism of the author's method and achievement the reviewer will refer to surveys of earlier volumes (*American Historical Review*, X. 397; XIV. 125). But while plan and method remain the same the execution in the present installment will probably be found more agreeable by the general reader, even though he might prefer to study the period from other points of view; it cannot be doubted that M. Waddington wields his material with remarkable skill, and that he invests his narrative with a great deal of interest.

This part of the period is of course one of critical and dramatic interest; the monotony of the earlier years of unvarying military vicissitude is decisively broken to a degree to break through both diplomatic cynicism and military weariness. The author devotes to the crisis about one-fourth of the volume, under the title, "Mort de Élisabeth"; while perhaps he still keeps too closely to his diplomatic records, while we regret not to learn more about Russia's internal condition or as to the bearing of the domestic situation on the change in foreign policy, we do get a clear narrative and a great deal of enlightenment about the methods and motives of those who in Russia and elsewhere were dealing with the personal factors of the moment and setting their wits

against one another. There are some points in regard to which it seems probable that hitherto prevailing conclusions will be affected by M. Waddington's evidence, and it will be interesting perhaps to delay briefly on these.

It would appear that the aid of Russia up to this time and her defection through the coming to power of Peter, were not at first regarded by her allies so seriously as has usually been supposed. In October, 1761, Châtelet, representing France at Vienna, reports to Choiseul a remark of Maria Theresa (p. 279) in regard to the new alliance between France and Spain, to the effect that she was afraid it would prove of no more utility to France than the Russian alliance had been to Austria. And on the receipt in Paris of the news of the death of Elizabeth, Choiseul declares (p. 284) to the Austrian ambassador (who it is true does not wholly agree with him), that the defection of Russia need not be a serious matter and that Austria can still beat Frederick alone. Frederick on the other hand does not seem nearly so well informed as to the probable effect of the change of rulers in Russia as were his enemies, for on the receipt of the news he writes in terms of unchanged pessimism (p. 310). But within a week he had learned what it might mean, and he shows at once that he regarded the Russian efforts against him more seriously than apparently did either Austria or France. He loses no time in pushing on the more favorable factors in Russia; and from the point of view of his later reproaches of England, it is of interest to see that he is quite ready to play a double part with respect to his ally. For, having learned that Peter had shown hostile intentions with regard to Denmark, he instructs the Prussian envoy (February 7) to express to the czar Prussia's entire willingness to enter into an engagement of neutrality on that point on condition that England be kept in ignorance. It was six weeks later that Frederick received news of Bute's attitude, by way of Russia, and while the Prussian king could not have had a very good conscience, he must be conceded to have had some ground for indignation on discovering that Bute had urged on the Russian ambassador in London the advisability of keeping the Russian troops in Prussian territory so that Frederick might the sooner be forced to peace, and that the English government had quite reconciled itself to the necessity of Prussia's making territorial sacrifices to that end. Peter however showed only resentment at the English attitude, and even before making peace with Prussia (May 5), ordered his troops in Pomerania, not indeed to withdraw but to stay and help the Prussians. July 23 he was assassinated, and Catherine at once evaded the completion of the supplementary treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with Frederick, for which preliminaries had been signed June 20, and took up a new policy of balance between the contestants.

We find some references to Polish conditions and prospects that surprise us at this date; as when Breteuil in December, 1762, writes

his government of the necessity of preventing the progress of Poland toward dependence on Russia and thus toward a dismemberment to the latter's advantage. The terms in which the Austrian ambassador in February, 1762 (p. 302), explains to Maria Theresa the causes of Peter's attitude toward Frederick bring home to us forcibly the degree to which Frederick's system and reputation point on to, and tend to produce, our own time. Peter, he says, worships Frederick because of "cette discipline et ce gouvernement militaire dont le roi de Prusse donne à l'Europe un exemple si outré, et qui lui a valu l'hommage de tant de têtes échauffées"; the training of the Russian prince "a été tellement négligé qu'il n'a absolument pas d'idée de son État et ignore ce qui est politique, système, en un mot tout ce qui regarde l'art de régner, et rapportant toutes choses au militaire" looks up to the Prussian king as the most successful of rulers in the development and use of military resources. It may be that Peter was not so much of a fool as he looked to M. Mercy-Argenteau.

VICTOR COFFIN.

The Partitions of Poland. By LORD EVERSLEY. (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company. 1915. Pp. 328.)

The Second Partition of Poland: a Study in Diplomatic History. By ROBERT HOWARD LORD, Ph.D., Instructor in History, Harvard University. [Harvard Historical Studies, vol. XXIII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1915. Pp. xxx, 586.)

THE present desolation of Poland, coming as the climax of a century and a half of dismal misfortunes, and the burning question of the country's future fate give a special interest to works on Poland's past. Lord Eversley's and Dr. Lord's volumes are of very different character. The former is a popular sketch of the history of Poland from the First Partition down to the present war. The latter is a scholarly and minute examination of the sordid and perfidious diplomacy which resulted in the most fatal, though not the first nor the final, partition.

Lord Eversley has culled a few notes from the English Record Office, but otherwise his account rests on Sybel, Sorel, Carlyle, and other well-known secondary works, mostly in English. He avoids committing himself to a statement as to the responsibility for the First Partition by stating on one page that Catherine "was mainly responsible during her long reign for the three partitions of Poland" (p. 27), and on another that "no one, who carefully examines the whole of the negotiations of this period, can come to any other conclusion than that Frederick was responsible for the initiation of the scheme of partition; that its accomplishment was mainly, if not solely, due to his long and arduous efforts" (p. 65). After following the vicissitudes of the unhappy country through the Napoleonic period and the revolts of 1830 and 1863, he writes a good elementary chapter on "The Poles under Three Masters". In this he rightly contrasts the unsuccessful oppres-

sive methods of Prussia and Russia with the wiser policy of Austria in adopting the English plan of home rule for dependent territories. He is careless as to proper names. Bourg for Bug, Wormie for Ermland, Banse for Pesne, Mscislaw for Mohilev, and varying spellings of the same name on different pages are unnecessarily confusing.

Dr. Lord's careful monograph is based on considerable researches in the archives of Vienna, Berlin, Moscow, and St. Petersburg, and on the private papers of several Russian and Polish families in various places, as well as on the mass of sources already in print. No small part of the value of his work lies in his correction at many points of the generally accepted accounts not only of Sybel, whose *Geschichte der Revolutionszeit* has been the mainstay of writers on the subject, but also of the Russian and Polish historians. In his preface Dr. Lord gives a good critical estimate of the value and defects of the more important works relating to the Second Partition; he supplements this at the end of the volume by a fuller, though not exhaustive, bibliography. For those who do not read the Slavic languages it would have been convenient to have a translation of the Russian and Polish titles, and to know that Askenazy's excellent Polish life of Poniatowski (1905) is accessible in a German edition (1912). In eighteen brief appendixes he prints a few of the more important papers on which his conclusions rest, and discusses more in detail some of the disputed points raised in the narrative.

In an introductory chapter Dr. Lord gives an excellent sketch of the melancholy political and social conditions in Poland before the First Partition. It is the best brief account in English. He is inclined to admit, to a certain extent, the favorite thesis of German and Russian historians that the Poles themselves were primarily responsible for their fate in 1772—that the First Partition was a just retribution for all the accumulated sins of class egoism and political folly of the two preceding centuries. But with the Second Partition the case is altogether different.

If the great Powers had annexed the whole of Poland in 1772, the world would have said that the Poles deserved their fate, and, in view of the deathly languor displayed by the nation at that time, it seems probable that the Polish name and Polish nationality would also have perished. Twenty years later, however, a new era had dawned, and Poland fell, not at the moment of her deepest degradation, but just when she was beginning to put forth new life and to show her greatest patriotism and energy. The work of the Four Years' Diet, the lofty character of its leaders, the generous enthusiasms and high hopes of the period, the Constitution of the Third of May, the effort of the Polish army in 1792, and the new struggle for liberty under Kosciuszko in 1794—these things brought at least this inestimable advantage that they furnished the nation with a treasure of spiritual goods upon which it could live and maintain its faith in itself and its future after the loss of its independence (p. 491).

And so, he thinks, the Patriots of 1788 deserved well of their country. He rightly rejects the contention of Kalinka, Kostomarov, and others that the reforming Patriots made a political mistake in trying to throw off Russian domination instead of prudently continuing to submit to Catherine's protection. For this contention rests on the utterly untenable hypothesis that submission to Russia would have continued to secure the territorial integrity of Poland. Catherine, as Dr. Lord shows beyond doubt, was not averse to further partitions, in spite of her remarks, dropped for effect, to the contrary. Her powerful minister, Potemkin, was known to have sold much of his land in Russia in order to buy vast estates in Southeast Poland with a view to carving out for himself, perhaps with Cossack support, a mighty principality in Dacia, or the Ukraine. Prussia, too, had cast to the winds the prudence of Frederick the Great; under Frederick William, Hertzberg, and Haugwitz she was striving by perfidious policies and treacherous treaties for reckless territorial aggrandizement at Poland's expense—in spite of her solemn promise to the Patriots to uphold them in their reformed constitution. "It is probable that had Poland remained submissive and passive, she would have fallen a victim to a new partition and to the loss of her political existence sooner or later—with the sole difference that then she would have perished shamefully, and her ruin would have been infinitely more deserved" (p. 487).

Among the more important points in which his conclusions differ from those generally accepted may be mentioned his rejection of Sybel's argument that the Emperor Leopold conspired with the Patriots in their adoption of the Constitution of the Third of May and made great efforts on behalf of Poland. He brings out more clearly than any other writer except Heidrich the extremely aggressive and grasping character of Prussia's policy, particularly in the long haggling with Austria over the indemnity for their joint interference in France. He adds much new information in regard to Austria's revival in 1792 of the old Bavarian Exchange plan and its combination with a Polish-Bavarian indemnity scheme. The diplomatic history of Eastern Europe during the half-dozen years from the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war in August, 1787, to the "Dumb Session" of the Diet of Grodno in September, 1793, which form the main part of Dr. Lord's book, is extremely difficult for the historian on account of the infinitely complicated and shifting vacillations of the rulers and their ministers. Through this muddy maze of deceit he has managed to trace a narrative which is clear and convincing. By his gentle irony, his facility in happy phrasing, and his topical form of treatment, suggestive of Sorel, he has written a volume which is much more readable than most monographs on diplomatic history.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Electoral Reform in England and Wales: the Development and Operation of the Parliamentary Franchise, 1832-1885. By CHARLES SEYMOUR, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Yale College. [Yale Historical Publications, Studies, III.] (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1915. Pp. xix, 564.)

IN view of the immense and beneficent changes in political and social conditions in England directly resulting from the reform acts of 1832, 1867, and 1884, and also of the influence of these reforms on the freedom and the democratic constitutions of Canada and the other oversea dominions of the British Empire, it is a matter for surprise that so few books of permanent value have been written on this nineteenth-century legislation. It is a further matter of surprise that until Mr. Charles Seymour's *Electoral Reform in England and Wales* was published, there was no book from which the far-reaching legislation of 1832, 1867, and 1884 could be traced. Roebuck and Molesworth, Homersham Cox, Murdoch, and Heaton, and more recently Butler and Veitch, have all made serviceable contributions towards a history of the reform of the English representative system. This is especially true of Cox and Butler and Veitch. Each of the seven writers who have been named "did his bit" towards helping students of English history to realize how the ancient franchises on which the House of Commons was elected for centuries before 1832 have in the last seventy years been replaced by an electoral system that is nearly as democratic in its inclusiveness as that of the United States or Canada. But four of these seven writers, Roebuck, Molesworth, Butler, and Veitch, are exclusively concerned with the reform act of 1832. Homersham Cox's histories of the representation do not go beyond the act of 1867; and for thirty years, in fact since the reform of 1884, there has been an obvious lack of a history adequately covering not only the first great reform for which Grey, Russell, Althorp, and Durham were responsible, but also the act of 1867, for which Disraeli and a Conservative government were sponsors, and the act of 1884, the most comprehensive act of all, which Gladstone carried through the House of Commons with quite considerable support from the Conservative opposition of that period.

Mr. Seymour's excellent monograph fills the long-existing gap in the history of the electoral franchises of England and Wales; and fills it so satisfactorily that in conjunction with Veitch's *Genesis of Parliamentary Reform* (1913), and Butler's *The Passing of the Great Reform Bill* (1914), students of English history now have in not more than three books a complete and practically continuous story of the movements for parliamentary reform; of the fortunes of the numerous reform bills from 1830 to 1884 in the House of Commons; and of the influence of the acts of 1832, 1867, and 1884 on the making of the political England that was in existence at the time the great European War was begun.

Comprehensiveness and completeness as regards the franchise legislation of the nineteenth century form one of the principal characteristics of Mr. Seymour's book. But it has two other excellent features which will enhance its permanent value and its usefulness to students of English parliamentary history; for Mr. Seymour has succeeded in two tasks that had never before been attempted by any writer of nineteenth-century English history. He has embodied in his book a comprehensive and singularly clear and readable history of the registration laws and of the working of the registration courts, first established in 1832; and he has written an equally interesting history of the weeding out of corruption in the English parliamentary electorate. The enactments after 1832 which worked to this end, particularly the acts of 1854 and the James act of 1883, are described in detail. So are other influences making for better conditions—the enlargement of the electorate in 1867 and 1884; the ballot which came into service in 1872; and the gradual dying off of the old and seasoned corruptionists, who after 1832 continued to vote in many of the older boroughs on the freeman, burgage, scot and lot, and potwalloper franchises of the unreformed House of Commons. The only criticism that can be offered as regards this subject is that Mr. Seymour does not take fully into account the gradual development of a better England as a result of the education act of 1870, or of the fact that a new democratic spirit began to pervade the working class electorate almost as soon as the trade unionists, led by Burt and Macdonald, of the miners' unions, realized that the parliamentary franchise was of more value than a money bribe or a free drink on election day, or a free ride to the polls at the expense of a parliamentary candidate.

EDWARD PORRITT.

The Diplomacy of the War of 1914: the Beginnings of the War.
By ELLERY C. STOWELL. (Boston and New York: Houghton
Mifflin Company. 1915. Pp. xvii, 728.)

ASSUMING that the actual correspondence in the colored books is at his readers' command Professor Stowell in this large and well-printed volume (in which but one typographical error has been noted) gives us: (a) a brief review of European events from the formation of the Triple Alliance to the summer of 1914; (b) a carefully reasoned statement of the steps, day by day and state by state, which intervened between the Austrian demands upon Servia of July 23 and the general outbreak of hostilities, so far as possible in the language of the notes; (c) a chapter of conclusions and reflections, as to the causes of the war immediate and more remote and as to the justice of the various contentions, which is acute, illuminating, and suggestive; (d) a curious and ingenious restatement of the said conclusions in the form of question and answer; (e) a variety of diplomatic documents bearing upon

the discussion, valuable and germane with a few exceptions; (f) a chronological appendix.

The unknown author of *J'accuse* frames a frank indictment of Germany as the prime mover in bringing about the great war, which in its cumulative force is terrific. In the book under review, Mr. Stowell both in intention and in fact is far more judicial. Yet the two writers are not far apart in their conclusions.

The one believes that Germany desired war and not a mere diplomatic triumph; the other does not go so far.

I do not wish to be misunderstood as thinking that Germany really wished for war; but by her conduct she gave evidence that she intended to back up her ally to secure a diplomatic triumph and the subjugation of her neighbor, which would greatly have strengthened Teutonic influence in the Balkans. She risked the peace of Europe in a campaign after prestige.

The one holds Russia quite blameless; the other says,

By this premature mobilization Russia did, I believe, throw away the last remaining chance of peace. . . . Since this precipitate military preparation on Russia's part could have been avoided, we must consider this also a rational cause of the war, and blame Russia accordingly. Yet never did country have greater provocation.

Nor does Stowell follow *J'accuse* in seeing a calculated manoeuvre when Austria seemed to open herself to discussion at the last moment, while Germany took up the rôle of *agent provocateur* and sent Russia her ultimatum. But in the main their judgments are alike.

Could England have averted war by frankly warning Germany that she stood by France and Russia? Against this charge Mr. Stowell defends England warmly, urging that by keeping all parties uncertain she stimulated them all to peaceful endeavor, whereas by aligning herself early in the pourparlers, she would probably have made war inevitable.

Certain factors not usually dwelt upon, our author brings out clearly. One is that in previous Balkan questions it had been customary to resort either to the mutual adjustment of Russia and Austria or to a conference of the powers. In turning away from such usual procedure and insisting upon dealing with Servia without allowing for other interests, Austria therefore took a grave responsibility.

Another is that in recent diplomatic alignment, at the Hague in the matter of arbitration, and at Algeciras, Belgium has taken sides with Germany, which makes the German charge of a Belgian-British agreement aimed at Germany highly improbable.

Although believing that the invasion of Belgium was by no means the sole reason for English action, Professor Stowell calls due attention to Sir Edward Grey's diplomatic skill in utilizing it. By asking both Germany and France to "declare their intentions as to Belgium" on July 31,

at one stroke Sir Edward Grey showed up Germany's designs, secured an opportunity to urge upon Belgium a timely resistance, united the Cabinet and the country against Germany, intervened in good season for the defense of the balance of power, and came to the aid of the Entente soon enough to be sure of the gratitude of Russia and France; yet he had also succeeded in holding off both sides long enough to try the effect of every inducement for peace he could bring forward.

As we get farther away from that fateful day, August 1, 1914, we are disposed, I think, to look deeper and more widely into the natures and ambitions and fears of peoples, while laying less stress upon the proximate causes of this war and their sequence. In this book we have a careful and fair record of the latter: we have also in chapter XI., in a brief forty pages, a study of the former which everyone should read who cares for European politics largely treated.

T. S. WOOLSEY.

The History of Twelve Days, July 24th to August 4th, 1914: being an Account of the Negotiations preceding the Outbreak of War, based on the Official Publications. By J. W. HEADLAM, M.A. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1915. Pp. xxiv, 412.)

MR. HEADLAM begins his *History of Twelve Days* with the sentence: "It was August in the year 1913." The ensuing account of the London Conference, preceded by the long drawn out crisis in the Balkans, gives him an opportunity to employ his lucid powers of historical narrative in a most interesting account of the relations between Serbia and Austria and the diplomatic duel between Austria and Russia for the control of the little Balkan kingdom.

When he reaches the opening scene of the great conflict which followed "a crime as purposeless as it was cruel and wicked" (p. 17), he says of the accusations which Austria directed against the Serbian government: "That there was any complicity on the part of the Serbian Government there is no evidence of any kind put forward, though it is suggested that they had been guilty of criminal negligence in not keeping stricter control over the secret societies" (p. 18). He points out how the Austrian note was published within a few hours of its presentation so that any redress offered by Serbia would appear to be as a result of the Austrian threats (p. 29). He appears to be justified when he says that the demands of the note "were drawn up with the deliberate object of making them such that they could not be at once and unconditionally accepted" (p. 30). "The real criticism of the note", he truly says, "seems to be that it confused, and intentionally confused, two different things—a political agitation and a criminal conspiracy" (p. 32). The inevitable conclusion reached, that Austria wanted war with Serbia, brings up for a later chapter the discussion of whether Austria also wanted war with Russia; but instead of devoting the succeeding chapter to the discussion of this question, as would seem log-

ical, Mr. Headlam prefers to bring early to the reader's attention the preponderant rôle of Germany, which corresponds with her responsibility. After pointing out the favorable situation from the German point of view for the launching of a conflict, he says that the German government cannot enter into a war "unless it is assured of the vigorous support of the people" (p. 43). He considers that among a considerable portion the feeling was growing up that the war was unavoidable, and if unavoidable it was better that it should come as soon as possible. I believe with him that the Germans would doubtless have preferred "a peaceful solution, provided that a peaceful solution could be obtained by the submission of Russia", and that "this is what in reality was meant by the phrase 'localization of the conflict'" (p. 53), upon which Germany took her stand. After thus explaining the causes of Germany's policy of localization, the succeeding chapter discusses the relations between Russia and Austria, and the necessity which Russia felt of intervening to protect Serbia. This is followed by an interesting chapter on the attempted mediation of the less interested powers, with the conclusion

that the German Government had determined that no mediation of any kind should be allowed, that no request to Austria to suspend her action should be permitted, and that it had been determined between Austria and Germany that war against Serbia should be pressed on with the greatest precipitation, so as to crush Serbia before any interference, diplomatic or military, could be arranged (p. 137).

A separate chapter is devoted to the intervention of the German emperor, upon which great emphasis is laid; but this is unsafe ground for the historian at present.

Passing on to Russia's mobilization against Austria, it is truly said:

No action has been the subject of such severe criticism as that of the Russians in calling in the reserves throughout their whole Empire. The Germans have fixed on this as the sole real cause of the war, and have built up a theory that at this moment proposals of a nature satisfactory to all were on the point of being put forward, and that it was Russian mobilisation alone which prevented them being brought to a satisfactory conclusion (pp. 220-221).

Yet in a similar situation Germany, when confronted by the danger of war with Russia, immediately mobilized the whole of her forces on *both* fronts,

and though France had throughout shown the greatest restraint and had carefully avoided every word or action which could have been interpreted in a provocative sense, Germany immediately massed her troops on the French frontier and addressed an ultimatum to her. In the light of this, what hypocrisy is it on the part of the German Government to complain of the Russian action! (p. 224).

Attempts at mediatory action continued up to the very last day, when Germany, instead of communicating Austria's answer to accept the mediation proposed by Sir Edward Grey, "broke off negotiations and declared war" (p. 238). Then the great European conflict was opened by the invasion of Luxemburg and then of Belgium.

This preliminary study, which has brought us to the very invasion of Belgium, permits the author to focus attention upon that great central fact in its relation to British intervention. The consideration of the latter he preceeds by an historical study of Great Britain and the *Entente Cordiale*, while a history of the neutrality of Belgium prepares us for the never-to-be-forgotten horror of this greatest crime against the law of nations, the violation of Belgian neutrality. This last part of the book, more especially the chapter on British intervention, is peculiarly interesting as a British historian's portrayal and interpretation of Great Britain's action at this supreme crisis in her national life. The author frankly confesses: "Writing in the middle of the great war in which the future of the country is endangered by an enemy more powerful and more implacable than any that it has before met, it would be foolish to claim the merit of impartiality", but we cannot commend the state of mind which would declare: "Had I found in the course of the work that the result would be unfavourable to the justice and honesty of the British cause, I should have adopted the only possible course and kept silent till the war was over" (preface, p. viii). But for its absolute frankness, such a statement would cast suspicion upon the whole work, for how are we to know that a man who is governed by such considerations may not suppress in all of his work that which he perceives might lead to an unfavorable judgment on his country? The reviewer believes that it is the better part of patriotism and loyalty as a citizen to set forth the truth as it is found. When there are more citizens in each country to lay bare the truth, however repulsive it may be, to the eyes of an oligarchy drunk with power, the presence of such historians will restrain their transgressions against the law of nations and the rights of humanity. This said, we must acknowledge that Mr. Headlam gives evidence of a very fair consideration of his material. He has selected the most striking passages which give expression to the general current of the negotiations, and he has combined them in a most skillful manner. The differences in type set off clearly the quotations. He has employed those convenient marginal headings, by which English books are distinguished, to indicate at once the date of the document and the name of the diplomat, but the reader is left without any adequate check on the fairness of his treatment, since he does not give all the citations which relate to the particular matter. In view of the admitted bias of the writer both because of his nationality and of the period at which he is writing, the book can never claim to be anything more than a superior kind of brief for England. As an interesting and fair statement of the British point of view, it is especially

valuable for the account of the formation of the Triple Entente and the considerations which led to British intervention. A good example of this is seen when the author adopts that widespread and untenable English theory that when Great Britain gave her adhesion to the treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Luxemburg, she "only undertook an obligation not herself to violate it" (p. 335).

The reviewer agrees with Mr. Headlam when he says of Sir Edward Grey's action in not promising support to Russia from the beginning:

It would, indeed, have been impossible for him to do so. Let us consider what would have happened had he acted in this manner. He could not have been sure that war would have been avoided; it is now at best a probability but not a certainty; then it was only a possibility. But had war none the less come about, in what a situation would he have been placed! How could he have come to the country and asked for their support in a war waged, as this would have appeared to be, in support of Serbia against Austria and in a matter with which this country had no interest? Even had the Cabinet supported him—and this it would not have done without losing many members—had he even secured a majority in the House of Commons, the opposition in the country to such a policy would have been so strong and determined that the country could not have thrown its full strength into the war. How would it have been possible to appeal to men to serve in the army for a war undertaken in this manner? The country would have been divided and half-hearted; neither men nor the money would have been available, and inevitable disaster would have resulted (pp. 306-307).

Again he commends the able manner in which Sir Edward Grey handled the matter of Belgian neutrality and foiled the German attempts to secure the promise of British non-intervention. In reference to Belgian neutrality Mr. Headlam says: "Even had this difficulty been out of the way it would, however, have been almost impossible to formulate all the conditions necessary to be observed if this country was to enter into any engagement not to take part in the war" (p. 331), but all these discussions brought out the fact that "the one essential matter which was at issue between the two governments was the invasion of Belgium" (p. 339).

The greatest defect in the book and one which it is hard to overlook in the case of a scholar, is the trivial and inadequate index; furthermore it is hardly excusable, where the author has access to the original German documents, to reproduce the uncouth solecisms which the English scholars of the German Foreign Office have foisted upon the English-speaking world, such for example as, "I told the general that his statement placed me before a riddle" (p. 184); nor should the name of the Serbian prime minister be "Pashitch" on page 19, while it is given in another form "Pasić" in the first line of page 67. Such evidences of haste are probably due to the desire to produce the volume without delay.

When some German historian gives the story from the German point of view, it will be interesting again to compare the two accounts. The book is both interesting and instructive and will remain a valuable exposition of the causes of the war from the viewpoint of a trained and critical British observer. In all probability nearly all the author's conclusions will stand the test of impartial criticism and the publication of material now inaccessible.

ELLERY C. STOWELL.

A History of the Japanese People from the Earliest Times to the End of the Meiji Era. By Captain F. BRINKLEY, R.A., with the collaboration of Baron KIKUCHI. (New York and London: The Encyclopaedia Britannica Company. 1915. Pp. xi, 784.)

IN this last of his valuable works on Japan, the late Captain Brinkley (for the share of his collaborator, Baron Kikuchi, in the preparation of the present volume is inconsiderable) undertakes to cover the entire historic period of Japan down to 1912, a subject too vast for a single writer or reviewer to compass with even success. As the success of an historical writer must depend upon his equipment for his task, the critic of this work is compelled to inquire into the extent of the materials its author has used and into the range of his personal interest in his many-sided subject.

As regards his material, Brinkley cannot be said to have made a full use of his large knowledge of Japanese for the exploitation of even the more easily accessible editions of sources. Nor has he availed himself half as much as he should of such results of studies by special workers as are in print in Japanese or in English; some of the well-established facts, the knowledge of which would have materially influenced many of his statements, have been inexcusably neglected. These charges might appear too serious in the case of an historical work making so large claims as this, but they seem more than justified by the consideration, among others, that Brinkley's work, such as it is, is based upon a greater amount of literature, though not of primary sources, than any other of the same kind except Murdoch's.

Few scholars might be expected to possess so comprehensive a training and interest as to enable them to feel at home in all phases of the complex career of an old nation. One may, however, ask if Brinkley's failings as a catholic historian are not most evident along some of the most important lines of his work; his weakness seems manifest on the cultural side in its deeper features, and is still more lamentable on the entire institutional side. His treatment of religion, its social reactions, and its relation to the higher forms of national art and letters is hardly less disappointing than that of Murdoch; and in his comprehension of the institutional growth, though he often discusses it at length, the

Irish author scarcely reveals the grasp of it shown by the Scottish, not altogether satisfactory though that may be. Of these two fundamental aspects of Japanese history, therefore, the reader will gain little coherent and organic view from Brinkley.

The failure of Brinkley the historian is counterbalanced by his large powers as a chronicler and historical connoisseur. Especially surpassing is his ability to describe personal and social relations, and this he invests with a genuine sympathy with the Japanese view of things, particularly when it seems at variance with the modern European standpoint. Thus his narratives are not only human but at times apologetic. These qualities are well exemplified in his chapters, among others, on the Gem-pei period (XXIV.-XXV.) and on the Catholic propaganda (XXXVII.). His accounts of customs and manners, though not so full as in the volumes on Japan in his previous *Oriental Series*, are always interesting. His love of detailed facts has further resulted in a fair summary of the archaeological researches by Munro (VI.) and in many a story of dynastic and political struggles of which the history before 1600 was full. The sudden growth of national life after 1868 is treated briefly but with a sure hand. In all these descriptions, the author has on the whole been content to follow the traditional line of thought, modified occasionally by his own judgment of human nature, rather than to reach out for new facts and reconstruct the narrative by independent critical research.

It is regrettable that the excellent descriptive quality of the work has been marred, and awkward misunderstandings occasioned, by the careless distribution and explanations, made by the publishers, of the numerous illustrations, many of which are otherwise of high quality. This is a mechanical detail that might readily be rectified in a subsequent edition.

As a whole, the work, while it can hardly supersede Murdoch's as a history, stands, as a chronicle embodying the traditional view of men and things, unequalled by any other work in a European language. So is it likely to remain, for it will be a long time before we may see other annals of Japan written with equal literary charm and evincing as much sympathy with their subject-matter.

K. ASAKAWA.

The Boxer[†] Rebellion: a Political and Diplomatic Review. By PAUL H. CLEMENTS, Ph.D., Lecturer at Columbia University on Far Eastern Politics and Diplomacy. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. LXVI., no. 3.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1914. Pp. 243.)

IN this monograph Mr. Clements has reviewed the antecedents, the causes, the international complications, and the methods and terms of settlement which attended the Boxer uprising.

The work is based almost entirely upon original materials, especially British "Blue Books", United States *Foreign Relations*, and treaty texts. Indeed, although the nature of the study excuses this, it might be urged by way of criticism that the author has paid too little attention to secondary accounts. For instance, some recognition and perhaps evaluation of such materials as have been made accessible by Messrs. Bland and Backhouse might add much that would be of interest and value.

Beginning with a short sketch of the early relations between the western countries and China, and having briefly reviewed the activities which marked the "scramble for concessions from 1895 to 1898", the author proceeds to the main task: a detailed account and analysis of the forces and movements, both internal and external, which marked the years 1898-1901 and resulted in the Peace Protocol of September 7, 1901.

Although he gives indication at one point (pp. 25-26) of having grasped the "real significance of the Chino-Japanese War", Mr. Clements follows at another point (p. 76) what the present writer conceives to be the common error of designating the German occupation of Kiaochow the first among the immediate political causes of the Boxer outbreak. It was Japan in 1894-1895, not Germany in 1897-1898, that *began* the programme of aggression which soon raised over the heads and within the vision of the Chinese the lowering clouds of potentially impending "partition". France, Great Britain, and Russia all thereafter got concessions before Germany "entered the game" in 1897.

However, the mistakes of the time were largely Europe's mistakes. . . . An enumeration of the immediate determining causes of the Boxer Rebellion is rather to be found in diplomatic archives than in a study of any other sources. . . : Leases, commercial servitudes, the loss of sovereignty over the finest harbors, the hypothecation of *likin* and salt revenues, the contracts to promoters and concessions to missionaries forced at the cannon's mouth, the talk of partition, the diplomatic wrangles over "spheres of influence" and "balance of power", the exaction of the last possible farthing as indemnity for acts for which neither Europe nor the United States would have granted indemnity or apology—the answer of the Chinese to all these national humiliations was the outbreak of 1900.

This is all directly to the point—and the truth and purport of such a summary may well be pondered in connection with a new series of aggressions which was begun in January, 1915, and of which we have much more to hear.

The account, introducing the documentary evidence, of the "American concession" at Tientsin (pp. 164-172) is especially interesting. "Fate seemed to have decreed that the American Power, to its everlasting credit, should be utterly landless in China" (pp. 172-173).

There occur in the book some misprints and occasional awkward

sentences, the latter especially in the foot-notes. The references are very complete. The bibliography is unusually well selected and satisfactory. The book is well indexed—would that the same could be said of every such study. This monograph will be useful to students of modern history and contemporary politics, and it is to be hoped that its practical value and possible lesson to statesmen will not be overlooked.

STANLEY K. HORNBECK.

The Fall of Tsingtau: with a Study of Japan's Ambitions in China.

By JEFFERSON JONES. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1915. Pp. xviii, 215.)

IN view of Japan's renewed demands upon China, Jones's *Fall of Tsingtau* is a very timely book. It might properly be called Japan's Nullification of the Open-Door Policy, for it deals largely with Japan's attempt to make the whole of China her special sphere of influence. It should be read by everyone who wishes to understand the meaning of Japan's demands upon China and their bearing on America's commercial interests in the Far East.

In the first part of the book the author tells how seventeen thousand Japanese, backed by the whole army and navy of Japan and reinforced by the British Far Eastern fleet, conquered a garrison of less than four thousand Germans cut off from every hope of supplies and reinforcements. On the basis of Mr. Jones's testimony the reader is bound to conclude that the efficiency of the Japanese army has deteriorated since the Russo-Japanese War. Mr. Jones is of the opinion that the operations of the Japanese army in Shantung will add little to its reputation for scientific work; that sanitation was something wholly lacking in the Japanese camps; and that the carelessness of the Japanese generals showed itself not only in their disregard of sanitation but in their handling of the troops after the surrender.

To American readers the real value of the book lies in the last seven chapters, which deal with Japan's ambitious scheme to dominate China politically and commercially. Mr. Jones has succeeded in showing more clearly than any other writer on the Orient what is the real question at issue between the United States and Japan. It is not the California question but the Open-Door Policy. Japan has recently renewed the demands which she made of China in January, 1915. Should China be forced to yield to these demands the Open-Door Policy would cease to exist. By securing control of China's army, police system, and financial machinery, Japan would be in a position not only to annihilate the sovereignty of the oldest independent nation in the world but to secure a monopoly of the trade of China, thus effectively barring American goods from the world's most promising market. Japan's demands, therefore, affect the interests of every American manufacturer and laborer. But a larger question than that of foreign trade is involved

in Japan's policy. The United States besides being the originator of the Open-Door Policy is a party to several international agreements guaranteeing the independence of China. Japan's demands, therefore, affect not only our commercial interests but also our honor as a nation.

There are no serious errors in the book, with the exception of Baron Riedesel's name, which is incorrectly given (p. 53) as "Leadse". Mr. Jones has apparently fallen into this error by getting the name from the Japanese who are apt to confuse the letters R and L. Baron Riedesel, second secretary of the German Legation in Peking, was the first German to fall at Tsingtau. He was a descendant of the Baron Riedesel who commanded the Hessians in our Revolutionary War. Like his famous ancestor, who paid such a glowing tribute to the American soldiers who captured him, Riedesel of Tsingtau had a great admiration for Americans and was exceedingly popular in the American community in Peking. He was a true knight "without fear or reproach". Those of us who knew him there and admired him for his knightly qualities will regret that his name was distorted almost beyond recognition in the only book that chronicles the manner of his death.

LUTHER ANDERSON.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Military Unpreparedness of the United States: a History of American Land Forces from Colonial Times until June 1, 1915.

By FREDERIC LOUIS HUIDEKOPER. With an introduction by Major-General LEONARD WOOD, M.H., Former Chief of Staff of the United States Army. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1915. Pp. xvi, 735.)

MR. HUIDEKOPER's book concerns a question of the hour and advocates a specific solution with some vigor. Yet it is historical in the sense that it sketches the history of the United States army from the time of the War of Independence down to the present. So far as it goes this sketch is sufficiently correct, but it does not go nearly far enough and always remains on the surface.

The author's endeavor is to demonstrate that waste and inefficiency have always characterized the military policy of this country; and he amply proves his case. He shows clearly that the marvel of Washington's success lay rather in his overcoming the ineptitude of Congress than in his dealing with the skill and numbers of the enemy. From that day to this there has been no very striking improvement. Our efforts during the Civil War, which Mr. Huidekoper carefully tabulates, were of an immense character, threatening national solvency for many years after. Yet the Confederacy was a weak state, with few resources for conducting a military struggle and with an army that would have been helpless against a trained force.

Where we think the author falls short is in his apparent inability to relate American military efforts to the growth of industrialism and the development of the military art as a general matter during the nineteenth century. To be more specific, he states: "At the end of the War of the Rebellion the volunteers had acquired a training which made them comparable to any armies that have ever existed." Leaving on one side what may be dismissed from this statement as merely rhetorical exaggeration, it yet reflects one of the most rooted of our popular misconceptions as to the conduct of war, and especially of the Civil War. It is the false foundation on which repose the most popular and most flimsy of our present-day defense schemes. Let us consider the question from some way back.

General Upton, on whose book, *The Military Policy of the United States*, Mr. Huidekoper has based his own, is noteworthy in our Civil War as one of the very few officers in the army who ever gave serious consideration to tactical formations, though he did not, as might indeed have been expected, achieve any very striking results. And in the vast mass of literature produced by the officers of the two armies after the war was over, Upton's book holds a solitary distinction as virtually the only one that treats warfare as though it might be a matter for scientific or professional study. This in itself speaks volumes, and the reason is obvious enough. The armies were controlled by men who were not scientifically or professionally trained. And even Mr. Huidekoper, who has devoted much of his time to military studies and should know better, has not discovered that the men of the Civil War did not know how to perform the two essential functions of the commander of troops, which are, first, to move them; second, to employ them tactically. The first of these rudimentary arts they picked up after a couple of years or more of painful experience; the second they learned only in the limited sense imposed by the practical but weak methods of their opponents. In other words, and not to develop this topic at too great length, Mr. Huidekoper virtually ignores the lack of tactical science and of the education of the staff and higher command among the items making up the defencelessness of this country. Yet it is probably the gravest item; and even Mr. Huidekoper at bottom suspects it, for in alluding to the recent administration of our military affairs he goes so far as to say that in our army "the system is one of promotion by senility". This is a little hard. Our generals have been more sinned against than sinning; and if they are untrained in the higher branches of their profession it is the fault of Congress and not theirs.

Notwithstanding its obvious deficiencies on the theoretical side, we must be grateful to Mr. Huidekoper for a useful compendium of the consistent failings of our military administration. It reads very much like some of the blackest pages in the history of the fall of the Bourbons in France. We hope that the compilers of our school texts may turn to this book for a little of the guidance in military matters that they seriously need.

Commerce of Rhode Island, 1726-1800. Volume II., 1775-1800.

[Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, seventh series, vol. X.] (Boston: The Society. 1915. Pp. xi, 501.)

THE general character of this collection and the uses to which it may be put have already been sufficiently indicated.¹ While the first volume offers a rich store of illustrative material on a number of well-known facts concerning colonial trade, the second supplies equally valuable detail regarding the birth of an independent American commercial system. Of the four hundred letters and other documents here presented, more than one-third picture attempts to carry on trade during the Revolution, a much greater number the triumphal emergence of American commerce from the restrictions formerly laid by the navigation acts, and a few the combined advantages and disabilities imposed upon the new system by the European wars commencing in 1792. Thus for the revolutionary period we have actual pictures of the difficulties encountered in domestic trade from the absence of transportation facilities on land, the presence of British vessels off the coast, the lack of a banking system and the depreciation of the Continental currency; as well as of the determined efforts through which, in spite of all, the trade was steadily carried on. The temptation to exaggerate the extent and severity of the economic distress arising from the war is corrected by records of traffic in such goods as velvets, broadcloths, and wines. In the matter of overseas commerce, we may watch the placing of "rebel" vessels under Canadian or neutral registers, the operation of "flags of truce", and the continuation of trade with England through Amsterdam, or with Europe generally through St. Eustatius and other foreign West India islands. Through letters covering the ten years of peace the reader may go with Christopher Champlin's ships to Bordeaux and L'Orient, Dublin and Cork, Amsterdam and Hamburg, Gothenburg and Copenhagen, Cronstadt and St. Petersburg, and may watch the exchange of their cargoes of lumber, fish, oil, furs, tobacco, rice, naval stores, and farm products for a still more varied assortment of articles. He may even share the pleasure of their captains in remembering that these articles had hitherto, for the most part, been obtainable only through British ports. He may see France and Ireland, the latter also enjoying new-found liberties, making every effort to capture American trade, and may learn afresh how greatly handicapped were American merchants by the inability of the states as a whole to conclude commercial treaties. In the remaining group of letters, covering the last eight years of the century, he will find examples of British interference with legitimate American trade and the temporary opening, under stress of war, of the British West India ports. But through all of this it is the facts dealing with the actual mechanism of commerce which are most worth while. The varieties and fluctuations of the currency sys-

¹ A review of the first volume by the late Professor G. S. Callender appeared in the *Review*, XX. 857 (July, 1915).

tems, the negotiation of French government paper or even of ordinary bills of exchange, the development of marine insurance, the regulation of prices and freight charges—on such matters as these the book contributes facts which are actually new. In conclusion it must be noted that it is not solely the commercial side of history upon which these letters touch. Many a glimpse is offered of conditions during revolutionary times at Boston, Philadelphia, and Newport, of the suffering and migration of people of Rhode Island, of the efforts of Congress to stop the supply of British ships and the exploits of privateers. Indeed such information ranges from a description of life at Harvard in 1784 to accounts of the slave insurrections at Santo Domingo in 1791-1793. In the way of critical comment it is necessary only to say that the work of selecting and of editing is admirable throughout and that the index, while not above suspicion as regards either comprehensiveness or accuracy, is very serviceable.

HERBERT C. BELL.

The Critical Period, 1763-1765. Edited with Introduction and Notes by CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD, University of Illinois, and CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER, Miami University. [Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. X., British Series, vol. I.] (Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State Historical Library. 1915. Pp. lvii, 597.)

THE state of Illinois is very fortunate in having the sources of its early history made accessible in collections such as this. Three volumes of documents of great interest relating to the time of the Virginian domination have been published, and this is the first of a projected series of five or six volumes covering the British period. This one, being a preliminary volume, contains two valuable introductory essays, one entitled "British Illinois, 1763-1768", and the other "The British Occupation of the Illinois Country, 1763-1765". The first essay shows that British Illinois was a matter of discussion rather than of realization; and the second is a summary of events leading up to the possession of the country by the British.

The documents included in the book are, in the main, devoted to three general subjects: description of the country and its inhabitants, French and Indian; the plans of the British for the exploitation of their newly acquired territory; and their efforts to obtain possession of it.

The reprint of the *Bannissement des Jésuites de la Louisiane*, attributed to Père Watrin, and first printed by Carayon, forms one of the most notable chapters in the volume. Though in the nature of special pleading, it is well written and throws much light on the history of the country, the methods of life of the people and of travel on the Mississippi. The letters of Sir William Johnson and of George

Croghan and the "Plan for the Future Management of Indian Affairs", formulated in England, are illuminating both as to the character of the Indians and as to the British attitude towards them. In the last-mentioned document it is amusing to find the provision, "That in Trade with the Indians, no credit shall be given them for goods in Value beyond the Sum of fifty shillings, and no debt beyond that Sum shall be recoverable by Law or Equity." The framers of the plan evidently were unable to picture to themselves any part of the royal domain in which the king's writ did not run. Equally amusing is the logic of Sir William Johnson's advocacy of the sale of liquor to Indians: "that without it, the Indians can purchase their cloathing with half the quantity of skins; which will make them indolent, and lessen the furr trade".

The statement of George Croghan as to the fidelity of the Indians to their engagements is of timely interest. He says,

It may be thought and sayd by some that the Indians are a faithless and ungrateful set of Barbarians and will not stand to any Agreements they make with us; but its well known that they never Claimed any Right to a Tract of Country after they sold it with Consent of their Council, and received any Consideration, tho' never so trifling; so that on that head we have nothing to fear in fixing a Boundary with them.

Relating to the projected exploitation of the country, there is included, from an unique original, a pamphlet printed in Edinburgh in 1763, entitled *The Expediency of Securing our American Colonies by Settling the Country adjoining the River Mississippi, and the Country upon the Ohio, considered*, in which the Scottish author advocates the establishment of a new colony bordering on the Mississippi, and extending from the Illinois River to the Ohio, to be named Charlolina, in honor of the queen. He seems to have had a knowledge of the country for he describes it as unexcelled for fertility, healthfulness, and beauty, and he apparently foresaw the rise of St. Louis, for he says that "a town at or nigh the Forks would be the common *Emporium* of the produce and riches of that vast continent". The slight consideration of this writer for the Indian inhabitants of the country is in strong contrast with the attitude of those who possessed more intimate knowledge of them.

D'Abbadie's "Journal", which is here given with more fullness than elsewhere, and the numerous letters from French and English officers, give the means for a very satisfactory understanding of the conduct of those of each nation towards the other, and of both towards the Indians, who were barring the English from the country. The suspicion which the English had that the French were intriguing against them, everywhere appears, and the entire absence of evidence of French bad faith is equally noticeable. Pontiac makes his entry, from time to time, upon the stage, but the story of his "conspiracy", and of the

siege of Detroit, are properly omitted as belonging to a more northern scene. The appearance of John Lind as messenger from Farmar to Governor Kerlérec is oddly suggestive.

Anyone who cares for this portion of the history of our common country will find this book readable and instructive; to the writer of history it is a source-book which cannot be overlooked.

The editorial work is up to the high standard set in the previous volumes. The translations are well done, though there are a few slips which might be corrected. For instance, on page 165, *songer à diminuer* is given as "consider the restriction"; *considéré* (p. 201) means a person of importance, who might be a "beloved man", as the word is here translated, though there are many instances where a *considéré* was feared and hated by his people. In English usage the word was supplanted by the noun brave. The word transliterated disgrace, on page 512, means ill fortune.

Notour (p. 154) is a good Scots word which needed no "ious" appended to it; nor should conform (p. 148) have been followed by a disfiguring *sic*. There is a good index, and the book is well printed.

American Diplomacy. By CARL RUSSELL FISH, Professor of History, University of Wisconsin. [American Historical Series, edited by Charles H. Haskins, Professor of History, Harvard University.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1915. Pp. xi, 541.)

THAT an authoritative text-book upon the history of American diplomacy was much needed anyone who has had to conduct undergraduate classes in the subject will bear witness. But two books have been available and neither was written with the class-room primarily in view. Each is the effort of a trained diplomatist and expert in international law. The arrangement of one upon a strictly topical basis makes it difficult to use where there is no assurance, as there usually is not, of a sufficient background of American political history on the part of the class. The other is sketchy, lacking in balance, and, while pleasantly written, omits many important episodes and includes others not of a diplomatic character; it is the work of an authority in diplomacy, of an amateur in history writing. The present volume, designed to be "comprehensive and balanced", suffers from another sort of limitations. It is the product of one trained in the teaching and writing of American history. As a narrative it carries the reader along with continuous interest. As a whole it is what it asserts itself to be, "a condensation of ascertained conclusions". It suffers from an overloading of incident and episode, so that it is not always easy to follow the various stages of what may be called the larger factors of American foreign policy. Such is apt to be the case when the chronological method is so closely followed as it is in the present volume. To

illustrate: the northwestern boundary controversy has certain fairly well-marked stages from 1792 to 1846. The various factors entering into the American position appeared for the most part successively. One finds "the first link in the chain of claims which was to bring Oregon to the United States" upon page 93, the second upon page 148, the third upon page 186, the fourth upon 195, the fifth upon 202, and the sixth upon 214, each so ticketed, to be sure, but with much matter intervening upon quite different topics. The really significant factor in the development of an American policy, namely the linking of the northwestern boundary question with our coast claims, is, however, not considered. In another connection the author departs from his usual chronological arrangement with an equally infelicitous result. Discussion of the northeastern boundary dispute is deferred until the Webster-Ashburton negotiation is reached. The reasons for the dispute grew out of the peace negotiations and might better have been indicated in that part of the narrative, as it was largely because of the ignorance of geographical conditions in 1782 that a line so potential of dispute was adopted. Where a specific foreign policy is determined by successive episodes Professor Fish is at his best. Thus the period from 1793 to 1815 (where the political history and the diplomatic history run in the same channel) and that of the Civil War are among the most satisfactory portions of the book. The part since 1898 is the least deserving of commendation, especially in those pages wherein reference is made to the problems of international law raised by the Great War. That we "ignored our international relations" from 1829 to 1898 (p. 4) is hardly substantiated by the space (little less than 200 pages out of 500) which is properly given to those seventy years.

Accuracy of statement is indeed the prime desideratum of a textbook. It is to be regretted that one finds, in this, so many careless statements, some of which are doubtless due to hasty proof-reading, the latter a matter which the reviewer might perhaps have overlooked, since all dwell in glass houses. But no mention of the line of Alexander VI. is to be found in the treaty of Tordesillas (p. 11), and to say that the treaty-line was "somewhat to the west" of the former one is unnecessarily vague. Nor was the treaty of Saint Germain the first after Tordesillas to refer to America (p. 13). While commissioners were appointed under the treaty of Utrecht to draw a boundary for the Hudson Bay country (p. 16), it would have dispelled uncertainty and an incorrect tradition to have added that these commissioners never agreed upon a line. Evidence that the Revolutionary diplomatists conceived of international arbitration as a "natural expedient" (p. 22) is certainly not quite obvious. That the draft of the treaty of amity with France, 1778, was largely the work of John Adams was worth noting, considering that the United States frequently used the same ideas, similarly phrased, in later treaties (p. 29). It is surely not quite correct to say (p. 43) that Vergennes incited Holland to enter

the war in December, 1780, or that Gardoqui limited Spain's claim to the Yazoo (p. 70). "The failure to give the government full control of aliens within the limits of the states" (p. 80) is not generally regarded as a constitutional limitation, but one that might be cured by Congressional action, as recommended by several Presidents. The British commissioners at Ghent have not usually been characterized as "well-chosen" or "representative", or indeed as "expert and skilful" (p. 180). In discussing the non-colonization clause of the Monroe Doctrine no mention is made of the important instruction of Adams to Middleton, July 22, 1823. Canning's position would have been made clearer had it been stated that Rush was not informed of France's disinclination to join against Spanish America (p. 213). More than three lines might with propriety have been given to the mission of Edmund Roberts, and Cushing's contribution to the doctrine of extra-territoriality certainly deserves mention, as does the work of Townsend Harris. Madison's proclamation of 1815 was not strictly one of neutrality (p. 207), and elsewhere there is an apparent confusion between executive proclamations requiring observance of the neutrality acts with proclamations of neutrality. During the Civil War the doctrine of continuous voyage was not "confined to the carrying of contraband" (p. 308), as recent controversy well attests. The statement that "the question of transfer of ownership [of merchant-vessels] in time of war has been regulated since 1910 by the Declaration of London, at least in the case of nations signing that declaration, of which the United States is one" (p. 312, n.), is not verified by recent events.

The author's discussion of the Panama episode is strangely twisted. Speaking of the Hay-Herran treaty he says: "after four months' debate [it] . . . was rejected by the Colombian senate in July, 1903" (p. 439). The Colombian congress met June 20 and the senate acted August 12. Proceeding, he says, President Roosevelt "ordered our minister to leave Bogotá and prepared a message proposing to Congress that we begin to dig the canal. He argued, or at least asserted, that Colombia, in rejecting a reasonable and generous offer, had violated the treaty of 1846. . . . An agreement, he believed, might be made with Panama" (p. 440). The Colombian government handed Minister Beaupré his passports November 14, 1903. If Mr. Roosevelt's draft is meant, this was prepared before October 31, when the Colombian congress adjourned and the possibility of ratification ended. In that draft the President was to recommend the purchase of the French company's claims. The argument referred to appears in the messages of the following December and January, after Panama had seceded, had been recognized, and had entered into a treaty with us. This treaty was signed November 18 and not December 7 (p. 442). However much the Panama affair may be justified because of "such unparalleled importance as to exempt it from the ordinary laws of morality and of nations" (p. 443), to suggest that Jefferson justified the pur-

chase of Louisiana upon similar grounds hardly does justice to the former negotiation. The Central American Court of Justice is at Cartago, and not at San José, Costa Rica (p. 451). Pan-American conferences have not been held every five years since 1901, nor was the last at "Santiago of Chili in 1911" (p. 451). The English colony of Dominica frequently appears where Santo Domingo is meant (p. 327 thrice, 330, 349) and the Tasmanian island of Bruni for the Bornean sultanate of Brunei (p. 286). Misprints of dates are too frequent for such a work: Gray's entrance into the Columbia was May 11, 1792, and not in 1791 (pp. 93 and 148); the treaty of 1842 and not that of 1846 regulated the navigation of the St. John's (p. 346); the mediation between Haiti and Santo Domingo was in 1911 and not in 1851 (p. 384) and the Payne-Aldrich Act was passed in 1909 (p. 470). To let "satisfactorially" (p. 466) and a "statute of Frederick the Great" (p. 467) pass into print may strike a responsive chord in the undergraduate's heart if it does not clear his mind.

There are a number of maps, some colored, some inserted in the text. The former are generally good. That showing the growth of the consular service might have given way to one adequately delineating the territorial acquisitions. The one illustrating the development of the diplomatic service is useful, but some of the dates need revision. The inset maps suffer from the faults of their class. They are not clear, particularly when boundary lines are sought to be shown.

Many of the errors pointed out can easily be corrected in a later edition, but that a clear conception of the development of American foreign policies can be secured by the narrative and chronological method is not demonstrated by the volume offered.

JESSE S. REEVES.

The Fighting Cheyennes. By GEORGE BIRD GRINNELL. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1915. Pp. viii, 431.)

OF some twenty wild tribes formerly ranging the great Plains from Canada to the Mexican border, one of the most important, owing chiefly to their central position adjoining the overland trails, was that of the Cheyenne, or as they call themselves *Dzitsistas*, nearly equivalent to "kinsmen". Formerly of eastern Minnesota, they drifted across the Missouri; and for eighty years past have lived in two divisions, widely separated but keeping up a friendly intercourse, *viz.*, the northern, ranging chiefly along the North Platte in company with the Sioux and Northern Arapaho, and now gathered upon a reservation in Montana, and the southern, much the larger division, ranging south from the Arkansas, in company with the Kiowa, Comanche, and Southern Arapaho, and now residing with them in western Oklahoma. The whole tribe at its best may have numbered 3500 souls or perhaps 800 warriors. The latest census gives 1420 for the northern and 1860 for the southern division.

The author of this latest contribution to tribal history has a long and intimate acquaintance with the Northern Cheyenne, but his knowledge of the Southern and more important division is comparatively limited, and the difference is at once apparent as soon as he leads his readers south of the Arkansas. The bias of the work is indicated in its title. From frequent listening to their own narratives of old-time warlike deeds the visitor may unconsciously imbibe their own idea of their superior valor, but while the Cheyenne are truculent and hot-headed, and correspondingly hard to deal with, there is nothing in their history to show that they were better fighters than their neighbors. In 1837, matched against Indians, they were completely routed by the Kiowa, a smaller tribe, with the loss of every man of their best warrior company, 48 in all. In 1868, on Arikaree Fork in Colorado, Colonel Forsyth with 53 plainsmen, fighting on foot in the open, successfully held off some 500 picked and mounted warriors for eight days, inflicting considerable loss, until relieved. The Cheyenne speak of this engagement as a fairly even encounter. In the outbreak of 1874-1875 the Comanche took the initiative and were the last to surrender. In the Fort Kearney and Custer massacres the Sioux were the principals and the Indians outnumbered the soldiers fifteen to one.

The principal events in Cheyenne history for the last hundred years are sketched in interesting fashion, chiefly from Indian reminiscence, with occasional reference to other sources of information. All of these events are a part of the general history of the plains and have been repeatedly written up by Bourke, Mooney, Robinson, and others, as well as in published official reports. We get few new facts, but we get the Indian viewpoint and incidentally much valuable light upon Indian belief and custom. The story is simply told, with none of the exaggerated statement and impossible happenings common to Indian "best sellers". Of all these, probably the Forsyth fight has been most sensationalized, although the plain fact of 50 men against 500 would seem to be sufficiently heroic. The Chivington massacre by Colorado volunteers comes in again for deserved condemnation, and the Fort Robinson tragedy closes the story of resistance to inevitable fate.

In many places, particularly in the chapters dealing with events in the south, there is a looseness and vagueness of statement inseparable from a work based largely on the recollections of illiterate informants, but which could easily have been corrected from official and other published sources. Thus the Lone Wolf of 1837 is confused with his grandson of the outbreak of 1874, and it is stated that he died "not long ago", the actual date being 1879. It is stated that "a Comanche" brought the pipe, *i. e.*, the invitation for a general rising, to the Cheyenne, the author being apparently not aware that this was Quana Parker, half-breed chief of the Comanche, and the ablest and most famous character in the history of the confederated tribes. He commanded in person at Adobe Walls, where, as he stated to the reviewer,

he led 700 warriors, but—with a smile—"no use Indians fight adobe". In his account of the disposition of the Cheyenne prisoners after the surrender the author says that "about 25" were selected and sent to Florida, "where they were held five years". The official statement is 33, and they were held exactly three years. Of the Dull Knife flight from Fort Reno he says, "of the 300 Indians 60 or 70 were fighting men". The official *Record of Engagements* says 335 Indians, including 89 men.

The most notable instance of this defect is in the account of the great Medicine Lodge treaty of 1867, by which the southern tribes were assigned their final reservations. Speaking of the slowness of the Cheyenne, he adds, "apparently the Cheyennes did come in and sign, though definite information as to this is lacking". The Cheyenne, as one of the principal tribes concerned, certainly did come in and affix their signatures, and their coming, as described to the present reviewer by Senator Henderson, one of the commission, and Major Stouch, in charge of the escort of Seventh Infantry (not Seventh Cavalry) troops, was the dramatic event of the gathering. They came on full charge, several hundred naked painted warriors, yelling and firing their guns as they rode, every man with a belt of cartridges around his waist and a smaller bunch fastened at his wrist. "I confess", said the senator, "I thought we were in peril".

As a compendium of Indian reminiscence from the Indian standpoint, obtained directly from the actors concerned, the work has a peculiar interest, and it is of value for the sidelight it throws upon tribal belief and custom. As history it is lacking in exactness.

JAMES MOONEY.

The Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes, Nineteenth President of the United States. By CHARLES RICHARD WILLIAMS. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1914. Pp. xiv, 540; ix, 488.)

THE civil career of Rutherford B. Hayes is particularly distinguished for two reasons: first, because he was the only president whose election was gravely doubted and who came into office with a clouded title, and secondly, because of the pivotal importance of his administration in marking the re-establishment of civil rule after the gigantic struggle between the states. There was much else in his life of real historical interest. He was one of the best types of the American soldier. Entering the army with no knowledge of war, he fought bravely in more than twoscore battles and after four years of fighting he had developed not indeed into a great general but into a resolute and disciplined officer, who would have done credit to any army. His service as a member of Congress and as a governor of Ohio proved him to be a public man with no tendency to the fervent oratory so characteristic of that time,

and with sound common sense, good judgment, and an honesty that could not be questioned. It was not the distinction of his career that won for him the presidential nomination but his availability as a candidate. He had carried the doubtful state of Ohio and when the unfortunate disclosures of the Mulligan letters deprived Blaine of the nomination which would have been surely his it was almost inevitable that the nomination should go to Hayes. There was no man of that day who had the hold upon the affections of the great mass of the voters of the Republican party that the brilliant qualities of Blaine had won for him, and, although the latter upon different ballots received the support of a majority of all the delegates in the Convention, the friends of the minor candidates found a safe solution of the situation in the selection of Hayes.

A strong reaction from the sweeping Republican victory of 1872 was inevitable. No man of that generation had been more formidable to the democracy than Mr. Greeley had been. He had opposed it in his growing newspaper when he was a member of the Whig party and he opposed it even more bitterly after the Republican party was formed and when his newspaper had become the greatest organ of public opinion in the country. The wonder is that with Horace Greeley as its candidate the Democratic party did not suffer an even worse defeat in 1872. But the forces of opposition to the Republican party that could not express themselves in that election still existed, and they were very much strengthened by the course of events during Grant's second term, and especially by the financial and industrial crisis which began in 1873, the force of which was not spent until well into Hayes's administration. It is probable that Hayes made as good a run as could have been made by any Republican against Tilden. Upon what was called the "face of the returns" Tilden carried a sufficient number of states to give him a majority of the electoral votes but the "face of the returns" was not conclusive in many election districts. In at least two states there was practically a complete suppression of the Republican vote in some of the parishes and the returning boards of not very savory memory proceeded to revise the returns so that that result should be shown which coincided with their own view of things. They sought by their decision to eliminate the results of fraud and suppression and to arrive at the vote as they believed it would have been if the voting had been free and the counting fair. When the electoral commission decided to accept the findings of the returning boards as conclusive and not to go behind the returns, they succeeded in evading some very embarrassing issues both of fact and of law. Under the ordinary laws governing elections the most favorable result that could have been reached for the Republicans would have been found in rejecting the votes of the disputed states and not in counting them for Hayes.

Public opinion would have been greatly shocked at the decision of the electoral commission had it not been for the discovery of the cypher

telegrams which showed an attempt to purchase enough electoral votes to give the election to the Democrats. Mr. Tilden conducted himself at that trying time with true patriotism. A great multitude of the people, if not a majority of them, believed that he had been elected and a man of a more partizan and aggressive temper might easily have involved the country in civil war. There was no judicial tribunal under the Constitution to which the controversy could be referred. The Constitution provided that the President of the Senate should open the certificates in the presence of the two Houses and that the votes should then be counted. Obviously it was pure assumption to claim that the President of the Senate had the constitutional power to count the votes. Such however was the contention of many members of the Republican party to which the President of the Senate belonged. The Senate was Republican and the House Democratic, but under the joint rule which had been followed at three successive canvassings of the presidential vote the House in this instance would have had control and Tilden would have been seated. The Republican Senate had refused to renew the joint rule and the constitutional machinery established to settle the result was unable to work. The electoral commission afforded a striking instance of the inability of men in times of passionate party spirit to rise above partizanship. Of the fifteen members of the commission, composed of men among the most notable in our public life, every one took the view, both upon the law and upon the fact, that reflected his own party politics, and the same decision was arrived at in a proceeding judicial in its character as would have been reached if the court had been holding an election. And even after the action of the tribunal, its decision could not have received anything resembling legal sanction had it not been for the heroic conduct of Randall, who was then the Speaker of the House. Disregarding the bitter protests of his own side and overturning precedents in parliamentary procedure which he himself had helped to create, he forced the question before the House for action.

Entering upon office with a clouded title the President did much to secure public confidence by the creation of a Cabinet to which nearly every member brought a commanding reputation. In that respect the Hayes Cabinet is probably approached by none other within half a century, if we except the Cabinet of Lincoln.

The soldiers were withdrawn from the Southern capitals and the necessary work of establishing the currency of the country was bravely entered upon. Congress was hostile to the Resumption Act and was in favor of inflating the currency by the coinage of silver. The President courageously used the veto to prevent the repeal of the Resumption Act and also to prevent silver inflation. The affairs of the Treasury were admirably managed by John Sherman and as a result a sufficient gold reserve was procured and on the first of January, 1879, the greenback, for the first time since it was issued, was put upon a parity with gold,

where it has ever since remained. In view of the temper of the time and the importance of the operations that were carried on, the administration of the Treasury during Hayes's term of office was not surpassed in greatness of achievement by any administration in the history of the country. Effective beginnings were also made in establishing the civil service upon the merit system. Notwithstanding the lack of friendship toward Hayes on the part of Blaine, Conkling, and other great Republican leaders, the affairs of the government were efficiently conducted in almost every department and the Republican party increased its hold upon the country.

With the temporary settlement of the currency question business revived and the administration which began in a period of commercial and industrial disaster closed in an era of remarkable prosperity. That Hayes was not renominated by his party was due to his refusal to take a second term, and that a Republican was elected to succeed him was very largely due to the excellent administration that he had given the country.

If we keep in view the conditions under which he entered upon the presidency and the great difficulties which he greatly met and overcame, his administration easily takes rank with that of any other President with the exception of Washington and Lincoln.

This biography by Mr. Williams may be regarded as authoritative and final especially in the material which it presents. One cannot always accept his conclusions and he takes somewhat too strongly the view of President Hayes in his differences with the other Republican leaders.

Church and State in Early Canada. By MACK EASTMAN. (Edinburgh: University Press. 1915. Pp. ix, 301.)

MORE has been written upon the relations of the Church and State than upon any other single topic in the history of French Canada. This is partly because so many Canadian historians have been churchmen, interested above all things in making us realize how much the Church did for the upbuilding of the colony in spite of stubborn governors and close-fisted councillors. But it is also due in part to the dramatic qualities of the theme itself. When the two authorities came to blows the echoes carried to the very frontiers. There was no place for a neutral, even in the wilderness; every one had to stand on one side or the other. These conflicts were sometimes tragic, as in the case of Mésy's encounter with Laval; sometimes they were merely ridiculous, as in the squabble over Molière's *Tartuffe*; but they were always picturesque. Parkman knew how to make the most of such episodes; and various other writers, with far less skill in the arts of portraiture, have been trailing after him. At any rate, we have had more than enough about these bickerings.

Dr. Eastman's book approaches the subject in a different spirit. He began his studies with a suspicion that the chronicling of quarrels had been overdone and that the authorities of Church and State, taking the history of New France as a whole, were not normally at each other's throats. His book proves this surmise to have been correct. The quarrels were mere episodes, frequent, it is true, and lively while they lasted; but never changing the general course of colonial policy in any marked degree. For the real political and economic well-being of the colony the Church did a great deal; for the best interests of the Church the civil authorities did almost as much. The team-play of both was well planned and effective in instances without number. Dr. Eastman has performed a useful service in bringing together the data which make all this as clear as day.

The arrangement of the volume is broadly chronological, but in each period there is a study of such special topics as the missions, the Indian trade, the liquor question, the progress of agriculture, and the tithes. Everything is based upon a careful examination of original materials, chiefly upon the great manuscript collection known as "Canada, Correspondance Générale", now housed in the Palais Soubise. There is intrinsic evidence of care and accuracy in every chapter, but the usefulness of the volume would have been greatly increased if the author had used his foot-notes to give us something more than the briefest citations. The dates of the *mémoires* and other documents to which he refers are seldom given, nor are we always told either their authorship or to whom they were addressed, although all these things are highly important. Officials, seigneurs, traders, and others flit into and out of his pages, moreover, without a word of explanation as to who or what they were, and occasionally there is ground for the suspicion that the author is not quite sure himself. Thus "the Sieur Dubué" (p. 192) is probably Sidrac Dugué, Sieur de Bois Briant; "Romain" (p. 192) is undoubtedly François Chotel, Sieur de St. Romain, while even the initiated would scarcely recognize "La Prade" (p. 193) as Michel Pelletier, Sieur de la Prade et de Gentilly.

Despite this lack of finish, however, the volume is a solid and praiseworthy contribution to the historical literature of Canada; the author has done his work honestly, and where good judgment has been needed, it has usually been provided. The rhetoric in some places displays rather pronounced individuality, but the author will doubtless learn to use a file on his castings as he grows older. The book has no index—an unfortunate omission.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO.

MINOR NOTICES

Troie: la Guerre de Troie et les Origines Préhistoriques de la Question d'Orient. Par Félix Sartiaux. (Paris, Hachette et Cie., 1915, pp. xi, 236.) The book is intended to spread in France among a wider

circle of readers the ideas developed by Leaf in his splendid work, *Troy, a Study in Homeric Geography*, of which I have already given an account, *American Historical Review*, XVIII. 563-564 (1913). To meet the needs of such readers Sartiaux has introduced other matters—a sketch of prehistoric conditions in and around the eastern Mediterranean, an outline of the Homeric question, and (upon the basis of Allen's article) a discussion of the Catalogue of the Greek forces. He has also a new illustration of the military and economic importance of the Dardanelles that has banished entirely the recollections of the Crimean War to which Leaf looked back. But for the serious student of the problem, acquainted with Leaf's book, the interest in the French publication must lie solely: first, in certain bibliographical information about more recent discussions of this and kindred problems; secondly, in the very clear though small reproductions of eighteen photographs of the ruins and of the surrounding country taken by the author.

In establishing the harmony between the *Iliad* and the facts revealed by geography and archaeology, Sartiaux differs at times from Leaf. The Scamander's ancient course coincided with the Kalifatli-Asmak; the ford had to be crossed; one of the springs has disappeared, or has not been discovered; there was a lower city. To the discussion of these topics he has added nothing, and I can see in such opinions only proof of his inability to interpret correctly the evidence. Others, no doubt, will employ them, as Rothe employed Gruhn, to discredit the main thesis.

For the purpose it is intended to serve the book is quite well done. Confusion is often found in allusions to the *Iliad*; for instance, page 111, where Hecamede and Nestor's famous cup assist Achilles in welcoming the Embassy. Full justice is not done to Schliemann, and history will finally speak more kindly of Dörpfeld. These are matters of detail; the most serious defect of the book is that, while Leaf is often cited, its readers will not realize the originality, brilliance, and importance of his treatment of the subject.

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING.

Roman Cursive Writing. By Henry Bartlett Van Hoesen. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1915, pp. viii, 268.) The student of ancient history who wishes to know the ordinary, every-day manner of writing, as distinguished from the book-hand, which was used in Latin countries during the first six centuries of our era, will find all the material available on the subject within the covers of Dr. Van Hoesen's book. The chief merit of the work lies in the material which it has brought together. The scholar who will give us an historical study of early Latin writing will find this work of great assistance. Although the illustrations in the book are based on tracings and free-hand drawings, and therefore cannot claim the accuracy of mechanical reproductions, they are executed with such care and exactness as to render

them a great aid in the dating of any cursive document with which a scholar might be confronted. After a discussion, all too brief, of the writings found on Pompeian graffiti, on lead tablets, on Pompeian, Dacian, and Egyptian wax tablets, the author devotes nearly the whole of his book (pp. 32-224) to cursive writing on papyri. He proceeds chronologically, starting with documents of the beginning of our era and ending with those of the seventh century. The method of treatment in the case of each document is the same: (1) general description, including literature; (2) list of ligatures; (3) list of abbreviations; (4) description of single letters; (5) discussion of the date. The last chapter contains a summary history of the Roman cursive alphabet. Here, as in the case of the single documents, each letter is discussed separately, and we miss the synthetic survey. The appendix containing the bibliography seems very complete and accurate. There are 123 illustrations in the text and 8 tables of selected alphabets inserted at the end of the book, but there are no facsimiles of actual documents.

E. A. LOEW.

Der Teufel in den Deutschen Geistlichen Spielen des Mittelalters und der Reformationszeit. Ein Beitrag zur Literatur-, Kultur-, und Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands von Dr. phil. Maximilian Josef Rudwin. [Hesperia: Schriften zur Germanischen Philologie herausgegeben von Hermann Collitz, Nr. 6.] (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1915, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, pp. xi, 194.) An industrious study, after the systematic German sort, is this monograph of Dr. Rudwin, now a teacher of German at Purdue University. Its first half, on "the devil scenes in the medieval religious drama", appeared in 1913 as his thesis for the doctorate at Johns Hopkins. To this is now added a second part, on "the German devil in the Middle Ages", together with twenty pages of corrections and additions, a bibliography, and a list of the religious plays on which the work is based—for the second part, like the first, concerns itself with the devil only as he is portrayed in the German mystery and miracle plays. Within these limits the book is a mine of exact and exhaustive information. Not only are the rôles of the devil in the religious dramas dealt with one by one, but the medieval notions as to the hierarchy of the infernal realm, the relations of the fiends with each other (not forgetting those of the devil and his mother), their dwelling-places, their implements, their names, their occupations, their appearance, their food and drink, their songs and dances, their qualities, their relations with earth and heaven, their triumphs, and their fate. Readable a compend so statistical can hardly be called; but its learning and its thoroughness make it a most useful work of reference, and, though it lacks an index, an elaborately analytical table of contents answers much the same purpose.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Source Problems in English History. By Albert Beebe White, Professor of History, University of Minnesota, and Wallace Notestein, Associate Professor of History, University of Minnesota. With an Introduction by Professor Dana Carleton Munro. [Harper's Parallel Source Problems.] (New York and London, Harper and Brothers, 1915, pp. xv, 472.) The volume is the third in this series. Eight collections of source-material, which the editors frankly confess to be in most cases vertical rather than parallel in arrangement, are grouped under as many topics. For the four divisions falling in the medieval field Professor White is responsible, for the four in the modern period Professor Notestein. The themes chosen for illustration are well distributed. The list includes Alfred and the Danes, the origin of the jury, the antecedents of the House of Commons, the fourteenth-century labor problem, freedom of speech under Elizabeth and the Stuarts, the English parish and the New England town-meeting, the beginning of peace negotiations with America in 1782, and the Parliament act of 1911. Viewed with regard to the interest of the subject-matter, the selection is also judicious. The inclusion among the topics of two which have a direct bearing on American history is an acceptable feature. The fact that a majority have to do with the history of institutions of government tends to counteract a too prevalent tendency of text-books on English history to over-emphasize political narrative. Even if some of the matter presented should prove too heavy for third-year students in secondary schools, much of it will be found highly useful in instructing them. The process of making such students historically minded has been difficult and incidental. Books like this mark a notable step toward a more direct method. The value of the work and its entire apparatus in elementary college classes is obvious.

The tendency toward extended historical introductions has been successfully combatted. The work of the editors, furthermore, represents learning and breadth of view. Some of the matter on the jury is devoted to its Continental precursors. The introduction to the section on free speech gives an original interpretation of the earlier history of this parliamentary privilege which is worthy of the close scrutiny of the constitutional historian. The substitution of data to show jury procedure under the writ *de odio et atia* for some of the numerous and more ordinary instances of the employment of the trial jury in criminal cases would introduce a somewhat neglected phase of the subject. The expression "duke of the province of Somerset" (p. 26), borrowed from an old translation of Ethelwerd, is likely to be misleading to young students. The use of the *Annual Register* and the *London Times* as sources for the act of 1911 will perhaps call out a profitable classroom discussion of the conditions under which material in current newspapers and periodicals may be accepted as authoritative.

W. A. MORRIS.

Die Stellung des Königs von Sizilien nach den Assisen von Ariano (1140). Von Max Hofmann. (Münster i. W., Borgmeyer und Compagnie, 1915, pp. 193.) Against the famous dictum of Burckhardt that Frederick II. was the first modern ruler, Hofmann maintains that the real pioneer was Frederick's grandfather, Roger II., whose legislation and system of administration are now known to have been the basis of the later Sicilian state. This thesis is not particularly novel, but it is here worked out by an elaborate study of the so-called Vatican assizes, in the course of which the author strengthens, without fully establishing, Merkel's argument that they were issued at Ariano in 1140. The more startling assertion that Frederick II. was the first constitutional monarch (p. 176) is made without any serious attempt at proof. Whatever value Hofmann's work has lies in its analysis of the assizes from the point of view of royal power. He has not gone beyond the ordinary sources nor is he familiar with all the recent literature. Miss Jamison's valuable study of Norman administration in Apulia and Capua is unknown to him, as are also the recent studies which carry the *Catalogus Baronum* back to Roger's reign and thus afford additional evidence of his organizing and centralizing activity.

C. H. H.

Some New Sources for the Life of Blessed Agnes of Bohemia including a Fourteenth Century Latin Version and a Fifteenth Century German Version. By Walter W. Seton, M.A., D.Lit. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1915, pp. 176.) The importance of the study of the life of Blessed Agnes, princess of Bohemia, lies chiefly in the contribution which it makes to our knowledge of the intricate negotiations with the Holy See which led up to the final confirmation of the Rule of the Poor Clares by Innocent IV. in 1253. Much has been written on this subject recently but it would appear that the part played by Blessed Agnes in the Franciscan movement of the thirteenth century has been largely overlooked. Never before has her life been presented to English readers.

The present volume, as the title indicates, contains not so much a biography of Blessed Agnes as fresh materials for a biography. These comprise, besides a fourteenth-century Latin version and a fifteenth-century German version of the original Legend of Blessed Agnes which has not come down to us, a fourteenth-century German version of the four letters of St. Clare to the Bohemian princess and a German version of the "Blessing of St. Clare", of the fifteenth century. What gives special value to the documents in question is the fact that they are of much earlier date than those hitherto known to students of Franciscan sources.

Dr. Seton's well-proportioned and sympathetic introduction to these new sources is in all respects a model piece of work and his editing of

the texts themselves is so careful and complete as to command the warmest recognition. It is hardly likely that those unacquainted with the difficulties which the subject presents will realize the amount of research and, indeed, of scholarship involved in the preparation of this volume. Only one wonders why the author sometimes gives currency to the French name "Clarisses" instead of using the customary English form "Clares" throughout.

PASCHAL ROBINSON.

The Incendium Amoris of Richard Rolle of Hampole. Edited by Margaret Deanesly. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, no. XXVI.] (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1915, pp. xxi, 284.) All scholars who are working either in the field of mysticism or of early English literature will welcome Margaret Deanesly's carefully edited edition of Richard Rolle's *Incendium Amoris*. One of our own American scholars, Miss Hope Allen of Radcliffe College, has done very fine critical work on the manuscripts which tradition ascribes to Rolle and it was Miss Allen's researches which first turned the editor of the book under review to take up her present task. Miss Deanesly is well equipped for the work she has undertaken and carried through. Her introduction and her notes on the text reveal an immense amount of painstaking research for which all scholars will be grateful to her. The editor points out that the influence which Horstman and others think that St. Bonaventura exerted on Rolle may quite probably be due to a textual confusion. Some scribe in copying St. Bonaventura's *De Triplici Via* incorporated in this work of the Italian mystic a passage from Rolle's *Incendium Amoris* and unless one had the insight to discover this fact it would naturally seem as though the later writer had been influenced by the earlier.

Richard Rolle of Hampole was born in the East Riding of Yorkshire about 1300. He revolted, as many another since has done, from the sterile scholasticism which he found at Oxford. "The great theologians, wrapped about in endless questionings", did not speak to his spiritual condition. Finally he came to himself and found his way of life through an experience which he calls in the Prologue of his *Incendium* the discovery of "the Fire of Love"; "I marvelled, when that flame first burst forth in my soul and I was in unwonted peace, through the unexpectedness of this abundance". And so he set to work to tell his generation, and those after it, the meaning of this inner flame, for it is not "those swollen with folded arguments" who can help the world to truth, but those who are "lovers of eternity", who are "taught by a doctor within their own souls", "those who seek to love God rather than to know many things". "Not by disputing", this early pragmatist insists, "but by doing is He known and by loving".

RUFUS M. JONES.

Is War Diminishing? A Study of the Prevalence of War in Europe from 1450 to the Present Day. By Frederick Adams Woods, M.D., Lecturer in Biology, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Alexander Baltzly, Adams Woods Fellow, Harvard University. (Boston and New York; Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915, pp. xi, 105.) To determine whether war is diminishing the volume in hand has undertaken a comparison of war and peace by ascertaining the years of war for each half-century and setting them against the years of peace.

After a superficial and not very pertinent introduction which smugly disposes of both pacifism and militarism for the purpose of urging honest, systematic research, there come chapters in which the war-years of Austria, Denmark, England, France, Holland, Poland, Prussia, Russia, Spain, Sweden, and Turkey are tabulated. In the appendix there are charts which show a decrease in war-years for all countries and indicate that war has fallen off less in the five great powers than in the other states; indeed Prussia shows a marked decline in war-years as against England, France, and Russia—a result which the author cannot quite accept and which leads him to remark that after all the time element is only one means of judging whether war is lessening.

Considering that the book opens with an insistence on scientific methods and speaks of "historiometry" or "quantitative historical interpretation" as a useful way of getting at things, it is something of a surprise to read that the author is "not certain that there is good proof that warfare is tending to disappear with the advance of ages".

The book is, in fact, not scientific. Time in history is not the important cohesive principle; the area and the population involved in a war are quite as important. Counting time alone furnishes no relative standard for war between a large and a small power, as against a war between two large powers. Thus, in this book, the Berlin riots of 1848 count as much for Germany as a half-year of the present war; this, incidentally, reveals that what constitutes a war needs careful definition. There is also a confusion of terms: Prussia is identified with the German Empire in 1871; England formerly fought against Scotland and subsequently fought together with Scotland against other nations, but the wars are in both cases tallied against England. Finally, the exhaustiveness of research in listing wars is obviously all-important. To use information more exhaustive for one nation than another would destroy the balance. In this instance reliance is placed on various secondary works, excellent in their place, among them Ploetz's *Epitome of Universal History*, than which, to quote, "for the nineteenth century nothing is more valuable".

EDWARD KREHBIEL.

Middlemen in English Business, particularly between 1660 and 1760. By Ray Bert Westerfield, Ph.D. [Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. XIX., pp. 111-445.] (New Haven,

Conn., Yale University Press, 1915, pp. 111-445.) "The purpose of this book is to present an historical sketch of the origin and development of the middleman organization that served English business before the Industrial Revolution" (p. 113). So Dr. Westerfield states his aim in this study; in accordance with his title, however, his attention is especially centred on middlemen's activities between 1660 and 1760. With materials gleaned from a variety of sources including "tracts published as polemics, dissertations, complaints, and opinions on the contemporary questions that stirred the tongue and pen in the years of the past" (p. 113), "many thousands" of which were available to the author, he attempts the difficult story of middlemen in English business, explaining that middlemen include "the series of traders through whose hands commodities pass on their way from the maker or producer to the consumer" (pp. 119-120).

In four chapters Dr. Westerfield writes about middlemen operating in four representative English industries—corn and corn products, animals and animal products, mineral, and textile and textile products trades; a short chapter deals with contrasts and comparisons between the organizations of the different trades, and the work concludes with a long chapter on the Tradesman and the Merchant: the Commercial Population, describing "in a more general way the merchant and tradesman class as an economic, social, and political element of the population" (p. 126), and showing the interlacing complexities of commercial life.

Unfortunately this monograph is hard to read and use, principally for two reasons. In the first place the matter collected is probably too bulky and too intricate to be compressed into so brief a study. There is not enough connecting tissue to articulate properly the subjects handled; this is annoying, especially as the work is largely technical, and the treatment somewhat artificial with its categories. It is abrupt and uneasy, and in addition the reader is often forced to look backward or forward to discover relationships. Secondly, the organization is frequently faulty, and Dr. Westerfield sometimes selects his illustrative materials poorly. Why, for example, after carefully describing the wool production of England (p. 257 *et seq.*) should he tell us that English manufacturers got their wool from four sources, a brief description of which follows wherein the three least important, foreign, sources are set before the principal one—England itself? Why again, discussing certain legislation of 1552 and 1577 (p. 263 *et seq.*), should Dr. Westerfield select, out of "many" similar evidences, illustrations of stimulating forces provocative of such legislation from the years 1585 and 1697 (p. 263)? The treatment of the matter under "license" (p. 137 *et seq.*) is awkward also.

Withal, however, Dr. Westerfield has brought together a large and interesting mass of material throwing light on an important subject, and his study should prove serviceable to those interested in the history of English business.

PAUL U. B. JONES.

Life of Viscount Bolingbroke. By Arthur Hassall, M.A. (Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1915, pp. xiv, 224.) This is a reissue of the *Life of Bolingbroke* which Mr. Hassall wrote for the *Statesman* series in 1889. Owing to the new light which has been thrown on the period during the last twenty-five years the author announces that he has rewritten much of the work, a fact which is attested by occasional references to publications which have appeared during the interval, such as Sichel's *Bolingbroke*, Yorke's *Hardwicke*, and the *Stuart Papers*. Nevertheless, the criticisms made against the book when it first appeared will still hold. Although it is a painstaking little study, manifesting a certain measure of independence of thought, it is marked by little distinction of treatment. Moreover, in spite of a laudable effort to appraise fairly Walpole and the Whigs, the main thesis is untenable—that the exclusion of Bolingbroke from office during the reigns of the first two Hanoverians was a distinct loss to Great Britain. Granted that Bolingbroke, in concluding the treaty of Utrecht, initiated a policy of friendliness to France which the Whigs appropriated and continued to follow for a generation, and that he laid the foundations of the new Toryism of Pitt the Younger and of Disraeli, the fact still remains that the country gained more under the shrewd, unimaginative régime of Walpole than if it had been led by his brilliant, erratic opponent. A few particulars remain to be noted. The author states twice, in practically the same words (pp. 141 and 197), that the exclusion of the Whigs from power during the fifty years following 1783 was due to the coalition between Fox and North. Yet even if, like Lewis Carroll's Bellman, he had repeated this statement still a third time it would not be true, for the Whig eclipse was due to quite other causes. Again, there is a tendency, rather unfortunate in a popular work, of alluding to persons and events without adequate explanation. Bolingbroke, who wrote so elegantly himself, would, if alive, rub his eyes to find his biographer employing a split infinitive and various awkwardly placed clauses. Errors of detail seem to be comparatively few, though it is misleading to say (p. 9) that in 1697 the profligate John Wilmot, earl of Rochester, had recently died, when his riotous career had terminated in 1680, seventeen years before. All in all, however, there is much information about Bolingbroke and his times compressed in this brief volume.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

High Lights of the French Revolution. By Hilaire Belloc. (New York, the Century Company, 1915, pp. 301.) Mr. Belloc's volume includes studies of six of the critical incidents of the French Revolution. Except in one case the selection of these "High Lights" is not surprising. Whoever undertakes to describe the spectacular side of the Revolution will inevitably recount "The Royal Seance", "The Flight to Varennes", "The Storming of the Tuileries", and "The Death of

Louis XVI." But the inclusion of Lafayette's attempt to resist the victors of August 10 is less a matter of course. The chance of success was so slight that the incident hardly rises to the level of a crisis. Mr. Belloc has decided to describe it apparently in order to offer his interpretation of Lafayette's character. Perhaps one should say "impose" rather than "offer", for the author does not indulge in that weakness of scholars known as suspense of judgment. Being French by extraction, however, he is more favorable to Lafayette than most English writers. According to him Lafayette's fundamental fault was what some of his admirers have counted as a virtue, his consistent adherence to constitutional methods. This fault, if fault it was, was typically illustrated when instead of breaking camp and marching on Paris Lafayette put his army at the disposition of the civil authority of the department of the Ardennes. Mr. Belloc traces the defect of character back to the American Revolution in which Lafayette took part as a mere youth, with a plastic mind, open to intense impressions. The success of the venture, the tide of popular favor, the constant reiteration of the new political creed, "coming at such a moment in the development of a man, crystallizes him; and for fifty mortal years, from the achievement of American independence to his death in 1834, Lafayette remained Lafayette, without growth or change".

The free spirit in which Mr. Belloc deals with facts in these essays almost leads to the suspicion that he is attempting a new form of historical fiction. Apropos of the Federation of July 14, 1792, he speaks of "Federates from all the French departments" being present. He must be thinking of 1790, for in 1792 only 2557 came in from the outside departments. His assertion in the study entitled "Under the Mill of Valmy" that the Prussian charge was checked by "nothing more romantic than mud", a stretch of marshy soil on the slope two-thirds of the way from the Prussian to the French position, is almost ludicrous. More serious is his retention of Louis XVI. in the Tuileries on August 10 until after the first attack of the insurrectionists had failed. He also says that the attack was made by an unformed mob and that the Marseilles battalion had not yet reached the Place du Carrousel. The fact is that the Marseillais had been there three hours, and that they took part in the first fighting. Just how the opening shots happened to be fired is no mystery to Mr. Belloc, although it is a much disputed question among the students of the incident.

One of the most extraordinary assertions in the book accuses Necker of lying when he said that his project of a royal declaration in June, 1789, was distorted by the court party. Mr. Belloc adds: "Read Barentin's notes on these same two days, and you will have little doubt that Necker lied." But Barentin expressly says that several vital particulars of Necker's project were rejected by the king's council.

B.

Louis XVII: a Bibliography. By William W. Wight. (Boston, T. R. Marvin and Son, 1915, pp. 159.) It is difficult to see what historical importance attaches to-day to the question whether Louis XVII. died in the Temple or escaped; it is simply one of the curiosities of history. As one turns over the pages of this handsomely printed bibliography of nearly five hundred titles the wonder grows that an American, living in Milwaukee, should have been interested in such a subject, should have found the time to make so extensive a collection of material upon it, and should have been enthusiastic enough about his collection to publish the bibliography of it. The explanation is, doubtless, found in the fact that one of the "false dauphins", Eleazar Williams, an apostle to the North American Indians, lived in Wisconsin and created quite a stir in this country fifty years ago. Mr. Wight became interested in his claims and wrote a pamphlet refuting them. This was about twenty years ago, but he has evidently kept alive his interest in the subject, expanding his collection from about one hundred numbers to nearly five hundred. The material is of very unequal value, comprising poems, dramas, pamphlets, and newspaper articles, as well as sources and serious historical works. The bibliography could be much reduced in bulk without any great loss. Mr. Wight's editorial work will be of slight assistance to anyone desirous of using his collection. To be sure the titles are arranged alphabetically, but the editorial comment, as a rule, gives little hint as to the content of the volume, whether it contains new evidence, what feature of the problem it casts light upon, whether it is worth reading in part, as a whole, or not at all. Instead of such pertinent assistance, we are supplied with a large amount of information about the writer of the work, information having no connection with the subject of the bibliography.

In the Footsteps of Napoleon: his Life and its Famous Scenes. By James Morgan. (New York, the Macmillan Company, 1915, pp. 524.) The author has attempted to write a popular work on one of the world's great men. He has succeeded in cleverly describing many of the numerous incidents he relates in the career of Napoleon as well as the places in which they transpired. He has however, because of their evident interest, given to trivial incidents a great deal of space which might better have been devoted to important and essential matters. For the sake of interest he even has introduced material foreign to his subject. He has delighted in making comparisons and drawing contrasts.

The writer states: "Before writing this biography of Napoleon, I made a journey of nearly twenty thousand miles to the famous scenes in his life and along the line of his celebrated marches." The biographer in gathering his material indeed should follow in the footsteps of his hero. But as he moves along he must study the sources that tell of his actions and achievements. Guide-books, local traditions, a glance

at the landscape, a view of the remains of past human activities, a vivid imagination, the reading of a few memoirs and biographies, do not enable anyone to write good history and to add anything of value to the science. The author has used the sources of information uncritically. He has either overlooked or ignored controversial points and repeated the gossipy statements of a Bourrienne and other memoir-writers, long ago discredited, with all the force of truth. The book contains many misstatements of fact.

The addition to the text of thirty-three pages of rather well-known illustrations, consisting almost wholly of cheap reproductions of likenesses of Napoleon and his immediate entourage, and the absence of maps and plans—which may properly be expected considering the title and subsequent explanations of the character of the book—and of bibliographical notes, fairly characterize the work.

CARL CHRISTOPHELSMEIER.

A Short History of Japan. By Ernest Wilson Clement. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1915, pp. x, 190.) Mr. Clement has made an attempt in one-tenth as many words as those contained in Brinkley's *History of the Japanese People* "to indicate in outline how both Old Japan and New Japan were constructed and evolved", a task which would have dismayed a master mind with a sense of intellectual responsibility. The author announces that "he has made use of all materials at hand"; indeed, a critical reader may readily see what materials the author had at hand and how he has used them. On the latter point a proof is afforded by the phrases he quotes with utmost crudity from writers, usually unnamed—quotations with which the whole work bristles. One would struggle in vain to get, through these pages, a glimpse of a continued view of Japanese history, for he is baffled at every turn by an unmeaning phrase cited from an unknown work, by gossip on unimportant incidents, or, more frequently, by indirection or silence. For this condition the author could not plead the lack of space and the popular nature of his undertaking, for it is not brevity or simplicity, but the very want of grasp of all the vital issues of history, the disregard of recently discovered facts, and the painful lack of sympathy with the subject, which the book reveals, that constitute its radical fault. While the author is religious in the sense of an Anglo-Saxon church-member and missionary, he does not manifest any of that teachable spiritual susceptibility without which no one may hope to enter into the inner life of a foreign nation. On the contrary, Mr. Clement displays toward Japanese religious and cultural matters an ironically playful spirit devoid of real humor or depth. His account of Buddhist sects (pp. 27-28, 37-38, 53-55) is unintelligible and worse than useless. His unsympathetic manner also incapacitates him to appraise historical characters. As for errors and inaccuracies, they are abundant; we can only point

at random to the following pages on which mistakes occur: pp. 6, 29, 30, 36, 37, 63, 89, 132, 140, 143. There is hardly any excuse for writing at this late date upon so difficult a subject as the general history of Japan with so light a heart and such irresponsibility. For the sake both of the reading public and of the author, whose previous work on Japanese chronology entitles him to a greater credit than this work will earn for him, it is to be regretted that the book has been published.

English Ancestral Homes of Noted Americans. By Anne Hollingsworth Wharton. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1915, pp. 314.) This book has a commendable mission, to teach us that our history did not begin with the founding of Jamestown, and that English architecture, literature, and romance are an inseparable part of our inheritance. The chapter on the Penn family has much to say about Algernon and Philip Sidney, Saccharissa and Edmund Waller; that on Plymouth and Scrooby, England, tells us not merely of the lives of Brewster and Bradford, but of the deeds of Francis Drake. The story of Franklin is a chronicle of his kindly visits to relatives in and about Ecton. There are everywhere vivid contrasts in social surroundings, such as are brought out in the Washingtons, country gentlemen, and the Franklins, village blacksmiths; there are also varieties of religious surroundings that help us to understand the later conditions in the New World.

If one were to be ungraciously captious, one might say that Miss Wharton occasionally fails to fill in seemingly trivial details that might interest an antiquarian. Sometimes, but not often, she lingers to gather illuminating wisdom from local custodians, and she says frankly that her time was seriously limited by the schedule of trains. Some parts of the text are not wholly clear. In the Washington chapters, for example, the confusion could have been cleared only by tedious care, but a book of this kind seems to call for just this precision. The references to Sulgrave on pages 97 and 101 need harmonizing; that to *cousin* on page 120 should be reworded, and that to Cushman's sermon on page 51 is not strictly accurate as set down. Winthrop was of Groton (p. 55), but married a co-heiress of Edwardston; the Adams family were from Kingweston, Somersetshire (see *N. E. Register*, July, 1905; April, 1912), rather than from Devon (p. 290); the Emerson ancestors of the essayist were from Bishop's Stortford, Herts, not from Southwark (p. 267). Pitfalls indeed are difficult to avoid in genealogical statements.

The present war is frequently mentioned, since it affects every hamlet in England, and in this respect the book concerns to-day as well as the seventeenth century. We may well hope that the author will write a book on the Continental homes of more of our famous Americans—Lafayette, Kossuth, Agassiz, Carl Schurz, Ole Bull, and other natives of the Old World. We need these evidences of the continuity of history for all our races.

C. K. BOLTON.

Historic Virginia Homes and Churches. By Robert A. Lancaster, jr. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1915, pp. xviii, 527.) Mr. Lancaster's volume is an important contribution to the literature of American architecture. Its particular value lies in the fact that its illustrations are not limited, as most of such productions are, to the "mansion houses" of a selected neighborhood. All who are interested in old-time Southern homes are already familiar with such places as Mount Vernon, Arlington, Westover, Upper Brandon, and others that have long been used to illustrate what is commonly, but inaccurately, called "Southern colonial architecture". All these are included in Mr. Lancaster's book, but they are liberally supplemented by photographs of the homes of people less distinguished, socially or otherwise, than the Washingtons, the Lees, the Byrds, and the Harrisons, although, perhaps, no less worthy. His use of the term "Historic Homes" is a little doubtful, inasmuch as many of the homes described have little or no history aside from that which naturally attaches to any house in which people have lived for several generations.

Aside from its more than three hundred illustrations, the book is somewhat disappointing from an architectural point of view. The text is almost entirely made up of genealogy and personal history, relieved by an occasional anecdote. The book opens with a brief statement of the early history of Jamestown. The remainder of its five hundred pages is devoted, in somewhat too much the manner and form of a guide-book, to comment on the individual structures and, more particularly, to comment on those who have occupied them. Except, perhaps, to Virginians who are interested in the various families because of knowledge of them or acquaintance with them, much of the text is more or less uninteresting.

Many of the illustrations are highly creditable and in entire keeping with the mechanical excellence of the volume. This is particularly true of the pictures of house and church interiors.

The Story of Dr. John Clark, the Founder of the First Free Commonwealth of the World on the Basis of Full Liberty in Religious Concernments. By Thomas W. Bicknell, A.M., LL.D. (Providence, R. I., published by the author, 1915, pp. 215.) To the world at large, the founder of Rhode Island, not alone as an asylum for persons distressed for conscience but as a civic community, is and ever will be Roger Williams. To say this is to say no more than that the world, having satisfied its mind as to the originator or leading exponent of an idea or a principle, gives there the credit, caring, as a rule, but little for persons concerned in getting the principle into practical effect.

Mr. Bicknell has written a careful and readable monograph on Dr. John Clark as the founder of Rhode Island as a civic community, claiming for him in this respect primacy over Roger Williams. Says Mr. Bicknell (p. 143): "It was given to a great body of men and women . . . setting small estimate on doctrinal polemics and erratic leadership

... to found a Colonial Commonwealth, dedicated to civil and soul liberty ... the first state in the world [of this kind]", etc. And the point would seem to be well taken. Providence Plantations, the direct work of Roger Williams, exemplified the radicalism of Soul Liberty; and the Island of Rhode Island (Aquidneck), largely the work of Dr. Clark, exemplified its conservatism; that is to say, made Soul Liberty workable, realized it in practice and action.

Studies such as Mr. Bicknell's are well worth while in the interest of exact historical thinking, however true it may be that such thinking is not much to the general taste or patience.

The volume before us has its share of misprints, is of an inconvenient size, and is without an index.

I. B. R.

Maryland Records, Colonial, Revolutionary, County, and Church, from Original Sources. By Gaius Marcus Brumbaugh, M.S., M.D. Volume I. (Baltimore, Williams and Wilkins Company, 1915, pp. ix, 513.) In this large and well-printed octavo volume, provided with an extensive index of some eighty pages, Dr. Brumbaugh has made accessible some documents, which will prove useful to many students of American history. The contents of the book are of so miscellaneous a character that they must be epitomized, in order to give an idea of the scope of the work. We find here, printed in photographic facsimile, the pages of the census of 1776, for portions of Prince George's and Anne Arundel counties, and printed in ordinary type, the pages of that census which relates to a part of Frederick County. There is also printed a constable's census of Charles County, 1775-1778. Marriage licenses are found, issued in Prince George's County, 1777-1800, and in St. Mary's County, 1794-1864. The records of marriages and births in All Saints' Parish, Frederick, as well as the tombstone inscriptions from the old graveyard of that parish have been copied and are included in the book. The poll list of Frederick County at the presidential election of 1796 reveals the interesting fact that most of the members of the County Committee of Observation of twenty years before voted the Democratic-Republican ticket at this election. Finally, we find two short muster-rolls of militia from Prince George's County in 1799, giving dates of soldiers' births. Brief introductions precede some of the documents which are printed. In order to appeal to a wide public, the editor has included this varied assortment of lists and promises, in future volumes to continue the printing of the census of 1776 for other counties, as is quite desirable. The fact that the age and color of each person enumerated is given makes the list valuable, not only for genealogical but also for sociological students.

The Doctrine of Judicial Review: its Legal and Historical Basis, and other Essays. By Edward S. Corwin, Department of History and Poli-

tics, Princeton University. (Princeton, University Press, 1914, pp. 176.) We are indebted to Professor Corwin for one of those small volumes which have a value quite in excess of the tale of their pages. For the five kindred essays here brought together as the *Doctrine of Judicial Review* are not only timely contributions to American constitutional history but represent some of the author's most fruitful investigations. Three of the studies—"The Dred Scott Decision", "The Pelatiah Webster Myth", and "Some Possibilities of Treaty-Making"—are already more or less known to students, and the two new essays—"Marbury vs. Madison", and "We the People"—are of similar merit. All in all the volume is stimulating, scholarly, trenchant in style, and optimistic in tone.

The most important of the studies, aside from the valuable criticism of the Dred Scott Decision (already known to readers of the *American Historical Review*), is the similar criticism of *Marbury v. Madison*. This essay occupies practically half of the volume. In it Professor Corwin deals with the question, "What is the *exact legal basis* of the power of the Supreme Court to pass upon the constitutionality of acts of Congress?" This basis, he argues, was not Marshall's "partisan coup" (p. 9), for the decision against the validity of the *mandamus* provision in the Judiciary Act of 1787 was both uncalled for and erroneous. But judicial review rests upon a surer foundation, namely, the clear intention of the Constitution, which is implicit throughout, even if not formally expressed. For the makers of the Constitution embodied therein certain dominant ideas of the hour which made it the supreme *law* of the land and thus placed its binding exposition within the sphere of the judicial power. And judicial review thus sanctioned, as the author goes on to show, has been recognized and used regularly since 1787.

The general propositions of this study seem sound to the reviewer, who, working from an independent angle, has reached almost the same conclusions. (See the *American Political Science Review*, May, 1914, for points of disagreement.) With respect to its presentation, however, Professor Corwin's case is not above criticism. For instance, has not more been lost than gained by including in this essay the hurried historical summary of judicial control? For, despite some new evidence, given chiefly in the valuable supplementary notes, it has been, necessarily, a rethreshing of old straw. Moreover its inclusion has entailed not only increased bulk, but a general compression, sometimes at the expense of clarity and even of certain inaccuracies. Thus the account of debates in the First Congress is inadequate and misleading. Also, unless Professor Corwin has a yet larger purpose in mind, it is regrettable that he has not made the most here of his very significant criticism of the *Marbury v. Madison* decision.

F. E. MELVIN.

The Northern Confederacy according to the Plans of the "Essex Junto", 1796-1814. By Charles Raymond Brown. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1915, pp. 123.) Although much has been written in recent years on this subject, Dr. Brown is the first to bring out a monograph on the inner ring of Massachusetts Federalism and its disunion schemes. Unfortunately he has only scratched the surface. No new material has been brought to light; no manuscript sources, not even the Pickering Papers "in the Boston Historical Society" (p. 118), have been utilized. The files of the *Boston Repertory* and the *New-England Palladium*, for many years the Junto's particular organs, have not been used, and most of the important pamphlets by John Lowell have escaped the writer's notice. He has also ignored the material in S. G. Goodrich's *Recollections*; in this *Review* (IX. 96-104); in A. E. Morse's *Federalist Party in Massachusetts*; and in the reviewer's *Life of H. G. Otis*. Further acquaintance with the writings of Henry Adams would have saved him from the error of taking the "Henry plot" at its face value and from dismissing as unfounded the rumor that Madison purchased the documents for \$50,000.

The better known acts of the Essex Junto, such as their attempt to defeat John Adams in 1800, their secession plot of 1804, and Pickering's intrigues with George Rose are adequately described. But no mention is made of Pickering's plan of 1814, to form a new union of the original thirteen states. "The Hartford Convention was simply the crowning act of the Essex Junto" (p. 113), a disunion conspiracy pure and simple.

It is interesting to find John Quincy Adams's passionate conviction dragged forth again into the light, but one suspects that if Dr. Brown had pushed his researches a little further he would have hustled this venerable theory back to the limbo of played-out campaign material, where it has been reposing these fifty years. Nor can we pass over in silence his promotion of Caleb Strong "from Essex County" (p. 9, n.) and H. G. Otis (p. 51) to the Essex Junto, an honor which those worthies may have aspired to secretly, but which was certainly never theirs.

S. E. MORISON.

The Education of the Negro prior to 1861: a History of the Education of the Colored People of the United States from the Beginning of Slavery to the Civil War. By C. G. Woodson, Ph.D. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915, pp. v, 454.) This book is the first which attempts to give a comprehensive account of the education of the negro before the Civil War. The field has been partially treated by M. B. Goodwin in the *Special Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education*, 1871. Two books not mentioned or used should be noted, viz.: *L'Éducation des Nègres aux États-Unis*, by Kate Brousseau (Paris, 1904); and Earnest, *The Religious Development of the Negro in Virginia* (Charlottesville, 1914). There are twelve chapters, some of the titles being, Religion with Letters, Education as a Right of Man, Actual Education,

Learning in Spite of Opposition, Higher Education, and Education at Public Expense. The main argument is to the effect that slaveholders who believed that slavery and enlightenment were incompatible, won the majority to their way of thinking and placed legal and other obstacles in the way of educating the negroes particularly in the period 1835-1861. Early instruction was largely religious, so that the negro might learn the principles of the Christian religion through a knowledge of the English language. The American Revolution was a favorable factor and influenced many leaders of thought, such as Otis, Mason, Washington, and Franklin, to favor education of the negro. The reaction came first as a result of the Industrial Revolution, then because of the great demand for slaves, and the belief that it was more profitable to work a slave out and buy another than to encourage a policy of enlightenment; secondly, because of the fear that increased intelligence would lead to further insurrections. As a result many states passed acts to prevent negroes from assembling and prohibited their instruction privately or in schools. Nevertheless education went on clandestinely, and even openly, in defiance of the laws. In the North special schools were instituted and in some states negroes were admitted to the public schools.

The discussion of the period since 1800 is better than that before this date. The most important source for early educational effort has not been used, *viz.*: the reports of the missionaries of the S. P. G. Much more also might have been said of the industrial education of negroes on plantations where they were taught trades. Neither the colonial newspapers nor plantation records have been used extensively. Dr. Woodson occasionally shows undue enthusiasm for the accomplishments of individuals of his own race, as in his account of Benjamin Banneker and Phyllis Wheatley (p. 90). There are a few errors, such as the assertion that a *law* was in operation declaring that the Christian negro could not be held as a slave (pp. 4, 24). Some sweeping generalizations should have been backed by more evidence, such as the assertion that in the latter part of the eighteenth century fifteen or twenty per cent. of the adult negroes could read (p. 85). On the whole, however, this book is excellent. It is a real contribution to the subject, based on a wide study of secondary and original sources, has a valuable appendix of documents, and an excellent bibliography and index. It is certainly the standard authority in its field.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

New York's Part in History. By Sherman Williams. (New York and London, D. Appleton and Company, 1915, pp. x, 390.) From the title one might hope that this book was to furnish a study in the relations between local and national history. This is a fascinating field, and one as yet little worked. Its treatment involves on the one hand the contributions of state opinion and experience towards the formulation of national issues, and on the other the reactions between the currents

of national life and the conditions bred by local experiences and needs in determining a state's attitude towards national problems (*Nation*, XC. 349-350).

Mr. Williams, however, does not present New York history from this point of view. The volume seems rather to be an outgrowth of a sentiment of discontent with American historiography. The author feels that New York has not had its due share of "spotlight", especially in the drama afforded by the events of the American Revolution: "our history has too long been obscured and overshadowed by that of New England, especially by that of Massachusetts". This book is a contribution towards "arousing a greater interest in the proud history" of New York state (p. ix).

It is perhaps in deference to the assumed preferences of the general reader for "drum and trumpet history" that the account of New York's part in the American Revolution, occupying about one-fifth of the book, is wholly devoted to military events happening on the soil of the state. New York's part in history since 1783 is accounted for by comparatively brief chapters on Hamilton and the adoption of the Federal Constitution, R. R. Livingston and the Louisiana Purchase, Seward and the Alaska Purchase, the Erie Canal and New York's commercial supremacy, and A. S. Draper and the New York public school system. This must be a concession to the same general reader's appetite for the biographical aspect of history.

Treatment of the colonial period occupies nearly three-fifths of the book. Here is accumulated a great deal of material sure to be interesting to the New Yorker who is uninformed and who "wants to know". This material is drawn mainly from printed sources and good secondary authorities. To the reviewer it seems that firmer grasp in organizing the stages in the development of New York's provincial constitution and in the treatment of its peculiar problems is needed more than the abundance of detail in successive pictures furnished here. From this point of view the arrangement of chapters and the strictly chronological method of presentation within chapters seem not wholly successful. But one never knows beforehand what will arouse the general reader's intelligent curiosity and interest.

CHARLES WORTHEN SPENCER.

Old Roads from the Heart of New York: Journeys of To-day by Ways of Yesterday within Thirty Miles around the Battery. By Sarah Comstock. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915, pp. xxiv, 401.) The subtitle of this book describes with sufficient exactness its contents. The volume belongs to the type of local guides with an historical and antiquarian flavor; the type of Hemstreet and Innes, already reviewed in this periodical. Its purpose may be defined as an elaboration of itineraries into the suburban regions of New York, so arranged that few places of literary or historic interest shall be omitted.

The author describes the earlier modes of travel by ferry, bridge, and turnpike, and then narrates in detail her routes to the four points of the compass, thirty miles from the city. On the way, or through short detours, the prominent buildings and scenes pass under examination.

Thus we are conducted to Jamaica and Hollis, and along the Jericho Turnpike; to Astoria and Flushing, where the old Bowne House—a headquarters of the Quakers—merits description; to Flatbush, where the historic Lefferts House claims attention; and beyond to Flatlands and the outlying Bergen House. Naturally the Battle of Long Island and Washington's retreat occupy many pages, and in fact the book becomes, to a certain extent, a résumé of Revolutionary anecdotes and proceedings. Less familiar ground is touched in the New Jersey hinterland near Atlantic Highlands, in such localities as quaint and little known Chapel Hill. In Staten Island, however, we are back on more wonted roads, with memories of Garibaldi, Vanderbilt, and the British officers in the Billopp House at Tottenville.

Westward the plan is similar: an account of sights worth while through Newark and Elizabeth to Plainfield; through Springfield to Morristown and along the Palisades, where the narrative is particularly good. And the circle is completed by tours into the André country, over the Boston Post Road, and through the intervening district of Westchester. Though the author's plan does not include a detailed journey through Manhattan, she has inserted stories of certain scenes and events, such as Smugglers' Cove, the Jumel Mansion, and the Battle of Harlem.

There are some omissions and a few errors. Quotations from Fiske are frequent, and the writer is apparently unaware of the works by Charles Francis Adams, Henry P. Johnston, or Trevelyan. No mention is made of the interesting old objects in Gravesend. The account of King's Highway on page 60 is confused. On page 159 the date 1834 should read 1824. The speed of Cornwallis's army from Alpine to Fort Lee (p. 222) is questionable, as the reviewer can testify from experience.

The volume is well illustrated, is provided with two maps, an index, and a fairly full but uncritical bibliography. An excellent feature is the condensed selection of itineraries at the end. It is a commendable descriptive work of its kind, and may serve as a useful companion in flights by motor or trolley to the outlying regions of New York.

EDMUND K. ALDEN.

Federal Land Grants to the States with Special Reference to Minnesota. By Matthias Nordberg Orfield, LL.B., Ph.D. [The University of Minnesota Studies in the Social Sciences, no. 2.] (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1915, pp. v, 279.) Of late years historians have been dividing up the rich field of the question of the administration of the public lands into sections for investigation. Dr. Orfield, in his volume on *Federal Land Grants to the States with Special Reference to Minnesota*, presents the results of his cultivation of a large and

important area of the subject. The book attempts to cover the colonial precedents of the federal land grants to the states, to trace their development, and to give an exposition of Minnesota's administration of her share. The first part deals with the colonial land grants for the maintenance of schools and colleges, for the ministry, for military purposes, and for the encouragement of industries. The second considers at length the federal land grants to the states for schools, agricultural colleges, universities, public buildings, internal improvements, and other public purposes. The third gives a detailed account of the appraisal, sale, and lease of Minnesota's lands and describes the frauds in connection with her forests and mines.

The study is based chiefly on colonial, federal, and state public documents, and its value lies in the collecting into one volume of a mass of material that would otherwise have to be obtained from many sources. The part dealing with Minnesota's disposition of her lands should be of service to other states in administering theirs. But the book is merely a compendium of facts, a detailed summary of the documents. Little attempt has been made at elucidation, interpretation, or conclusion. The individual chapters give a confusing mass of details and are poorly organized and written. The one on internal improvements is entirely inadequate. The subject of federal land grants for military purposes is omitted.

It is surprising to note that the bibliography contains no mention of Payson J. Treat's *The National Land System, 1785-1820*, nor of his articles in the *Cyclopedia of American Government* (I. 645-647; II. 306; III. 93-97, 99), which deal with the subject of this volume. Undue emphasis seems to have been laid in the introduction upon one or two minor errors of special writers, which might well have been confined to the foot-notes. An index increases the value of the work as a book of reference.

RAYNOR G. WELLINGTON.

The Hopi Indians. By Walter Hough. [Little Histories of North American Indians, no. 4.] (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, the Torch Press, 1915, pp. 265.) This volume, by far the longest and most original of the series to which it belongs, is a wholly popular, not a scientific, work, from the competent hand of the Curator of the Division of Ethnology in the United States National Museum. It well fulfills its purpose of describing in simple, untechnical language, and in an entertaining style, the country, towns, social and domestic life, arts and crafts, amusements, religious and other ceremonies, myths, traditions and history of the Hopi people. The affection and respect for this people, manifested by the author communicate themselves to the reader. The book should be widely used in schools, and should elsewhere serve to attract the uninitiated to the further study of the life and thought of the Pueblo Indians.

The Lopez Expeditions to Cuba, 1848-1851. By Robert Granville Caldwell, Assistant Professor of History, Rice Institute, Houston, Texas. (Princeton, University Press, 1915, pp. 138.) Somewhat less than half of Dr. Caldwell's thesis is devoted to a detailed account of the Lopez expeditions themselves. Their history was recorded in a number of contemporary sources, official and unofficial, which he has fully utilized, and the only criticism to be made of this portion of his study is that the book, as a whole, leaves perhaps an undue *informational* emphasis (doubtless unintentional) upon the military details of the expeditions. The style, also, though clear and direct, is quite devoid of spirit.

The expeditions are important solely in relation to contemporary factors of Cuban and American life and opinion, and of intersectional and international jealousies. The African slave-trade; Cuban racial problems; Spanish colonial policies and administration; American "manifest destiny"; pro-slavery diplomacy and domestic politics; international apprehensions that found persistent and powerful expression, were all elements in the Cuban problem of 1848-1851. To these broader aspects of his subject—the origins and significance of the Lopez expeditions—Dr. Caldwell devotes four chapters. But it seems not unfair to say that no very firm grasp is shown of their history and their relations.

The whole of the second chapter betrays the need of wider reading. For example, the liberalism of Puerto Principe and the education of Cuban youths in the United States (p. 20) had an interesting history. The first chapter is confused and inadequate. An examination with any care of the books of Ahumada, Sedano, Pezuela, Vazquez Queipo, and Sagra cited in the bibliography (the only two works of Sagra valuable for the author's purposes were not consulted), would have immensely improved this chapter. Nor are its faults solely of omission. The idea (p. 12) that there was any real change in Spanish "policy" following the cession of Florida is erroneous. The statement that Cuba was "developed" from the coffers of Mexico (p. 14) shows scant appreciation of a matter fundamentally important.

With the exception of Concha's *Memorias*, Sedano's *Estudios*, Torrente's *Bosquejo* (all of which are overmuch relied upon), and Vidal Morales's *Mártires*, most of the Spanish material consulted was apparently only superficially examined. The appraisals, in the bibliography, of Torrente, Sedano, and Zaragoza are decidedly uncritical. Authority is usually given for important statements (exceptions on pp. 10, 53, 87); but a weakness too often apparent is the citation of poor authority when much better is available, usually in the books listed in the bibliography (e. g., on pp. 21—Cuban slave code; p. 8, n. 9; p. 19, n. 1).

In short, although the thesis is an honest piece of work, it shows inadequate knowledge of the Spanish sources, and treats unsatisfactorily the broader aspects of the subject.

F. S. PHILBRICK.

HISTORICAL NEWS

The resignation of Professor George L. Burr from the Board of Editors, and the action of Professor Frederick J. Turner in declining to permit re-election, have deprived this journal of invaluable assistance, rendered during ten years in the one case and six in the other, for which no expressions of gratitude on the part of the Board can be too warm. Their places are taken respectively by Professors Ephraim Emerton of Harvard University and Claude H. Van Tyne of the University of Michigan.

The *General Index* to volumes XI.-XX. of this journal (1905-1915), for the preparation of which we are much indebted to Mr. David M. Matteson, has now been published in a volume of 219 pages. Paper-bound copies may be obtained from the publishers, the Macmillan Company, 66 Fifth Avenue, New York, at the price of \$1.25; copies bound in black half-morocco, uniform with the regular bindings of the *Review*, may be had for \$1.75.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

It is important to make public the fact that there is no connection between the American Historical Association and an organization or commercial firm which calls itself "The American Historical Society, Inc.", and which, under the address 267 Broadway, New York, is apparently engaged in preparing an expensive biographical compilation entitled "The New York Cyclopedia". Members of the American Historical Association should also be reminded, and the general public informed, that there is no connection between that body, incorporated by act of Congress and charged with definite governmental functions in respect to history, and the organization called the National Historical Society.

The Pacific Coast Branch held its twelfth annual meeting at Stanford University on November 26 and 27. Professor Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California was chosen president, Professor Henry L. Cannon of Stanford University, vice-president. Aside from the papers specifically relating to the processes of teaching, there was one on Polk's Part in the Jackson Administration, by Professor Eugene I. McCormac; one on Cornelius Cole, by Professor Rockwell D. Hunt; and one on Rudolf Schleiden and the Visit to Richmond, April 25, 1861, by Professor Ralph H. Lutz. The proceedings of the joint meeting of the American Historical Association with the California History Teachers' Association, held at Berkeley on July 22, 1915 (see page 5, above) have been printed in a pamphlet of thirty-four pages.

The war in Europe has made it impossible for the time being to proceed with the Bibliography of Modern British History. Although the American members of the joint committee have completed their portion of the first volume, the English members will probably not finish theirs till the termination of the war. Under these circumstances, the American committee wishes to state that subscribers who have paid in advance may, if they desire, have their money returned by applying to Professor Arthur Lyon Cross, 705 South State Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

The Executive Council, while desirous of maintaining, even during war-times, the room which serves as its headquarters in the building of the Royal Historical Society, 22 Russell Square, London, found itself unable at its recent meetings to provide the rent for 1916 out of its ordinary budget, and left the same to be raised by subscription from members of the Association especially interested. This has since been achieved.

In the *Original Narratives* series Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons published in February the volume entitled *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*, edited by Professor Herbert E. Bolton, and have composition well advanced on Miss Kellogg's *Narratives of the Early Northwest*.

PERSONAL

Edvard Holm, professor of history in the University of Copenhagen from 1865 to 1899, and since the latter date professor emeritus, died on May 18, 1915, aged eighty-two years. His earlier works dealt with topics in Roman imperial history, but his professorship compelled him to turn to modern history, especially that of his own country. His researches in the national archives yielded numerous volumes of which the major works are *Danmark-Norges Udenrigske Historie under den Franske Revolution og Napoleons Krige* (1875, 2 vols.); *Danmark-Norges Indre Historie, 1660-1720* (1885-1886, 2 vols.); and *Danmark-Norges Historie fra den Store Nordiske Krigs Slutning til Rigernes Adskillelse, 1720-1814* (1890 ff., 10 vols.; the concluding volume has not appeared).

Sir Clements Markham, who died in London on January 30, at the age of eighty-five, was chiefly famous as a geographer, for many years secretary, and then president, of the Royal Geographical Society. But he was also secretary of the Hakluyt Society from 1858 to 1887, and edited for it no fewer than twenty-two volumes of its publications, including the *Journal of Columbus*, the *Letters of Amerigo Vespucci*, the *Hawkins Voyages*, and Andagoya's *Narrative of Pedrarias Davila*.

Anson Daniel Morse, emeritus professor of history in Amherst College, died on March 13, at the age of sixty-nine. He had held a professorship in Amherst College since 1877 and was revered and beloved by a

multitude of students. Ill health, anxiety for perfection of knowledge and judgment, and excessively deliberate methods of composition, kept him from the completion and publication of the work on the history of American political parties upon which he had long been engaged; but the articles which he printed on the subject were marked by thorough knowledge, careful thinking, and sound judgment.

Count Lützow, author of many valuable works in Bohemian history, the last of which, *The Hussite Wars*, was reviewed in our July number, died in January. Born in 1849, he had served for a time in the diplomatic service and in the Austrian House of Representatives.

Dr. Ernesto Quesada, of Argentina, has been made professor of Latin-American history and economics in Harvard University for the year 1916-1917.

Professor R. B. Way of Beloit College has been teaching at Harvard University during the first half of the current academic year.

Dr. Annie H. Abel has been promoted from associate professor to professor of history in Smith College. Dr. Eloise Ellery has received a similar promotion in Vassar College, while Dr. Ida C. Thallon has been advanced from assistant professor to associate professor.

At the beginning of the year Mr. Victor H. Paltsits became chief of the Division of American History and Reserved Books in the New York Public Library, continuing also in charge of the Manuscript Division. Mr. Wilberforce Eames retires from the former position, and becomes Bibliographer of the library, with a view to the completion of Sabin's *Dictionary of Books relating to America* and to other constructive work.

Professor Charles D. Hazen, at present residing in Washington, is lecturing, weekly, at the Johns Hopkins University on the Rise of Democracy in France.

Professor Carl Becker of the University of Kansas has accepted a call to a professorship of history in the University of Minnesota, where he will begin work in September next.

Professor Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California teaches in the University of Michigan during its next summer session, Professor Isaac J. Cox of Cincinnati in that of the University of California.

GENERAL

The first number of the new quarterly called *The Military Historian and Economist*, edited by Captain A. L. Conger, U. S. A., and Professor R. M. Johnston of Harvard University, and published at Cambridge, has two important historical articles: an admirable account of the Sources for the History of the Mexican War, by Professor Justin H. Smith, and an intelligent analysis and narrative of the operations at

Fort Donelson, by Captain Conger. The other three articles and the tactical and economic notes relate to present-day matters of military and naval policy, strategy, and tactics. There are several good reviews of books of military history, and a beginning is made of the publication of the interesting personal memoirs of Major-General D. S. Stanley. The new journal has begun well, and it is to be hoped that there is, among military men and others, sufficient interest in military history to sustain it permanently at its present level. The second number (April) is even better than the first. Its historical articles are one on Grant's Campaign of 1864, by Capt. Willey Howell, U. S. A., and Professor Ferguson's paper on Economic Causes of Wars in Ancient Greece, mentioned on a previous page (p. 445).

An undertaking which deserves a cordial welcome began in the publication, in January, of the first number of the *Journal of Negro History*, edited by Mr. Carter G. Woodson, and published at 2223 Twelfth Street, N. W., Washington, by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, formed at Chicago in September, 1915. The price is but \$1 per annum. The objects of the Association and of the journal are admirable—not the discussion of the "negro problem", which is sure, through other means, of discussion ample in quantity at least, but to exhibit the facts of negro history, to save and publish the records of the black race, to make known by competent articles and by documents what the negro has thought and felt and done. The first number makes an excellent beginning, with an article by the editor on the Negroes of Cincinnati prior to the Civil War; one by W. B. Hartgrove on the career of Maria Louise Moore and Fannie M. Richards, mother and daughter, pioneers in negro education in Virginia and Detroit; one by Monroe N. Work, on ancient African civilization; and one by A. O. Stafford, on negro proverbs. The reprinting of a group of articles on slavery in the *American Museum* of 1788 by "Othello", a negro, and of selections from the *Baptist Annual Register*, 1790-1802, respecting negro Baptist churches, gives useful aid toward better knowledge of the American negro at the end of the eighteenth century.

The most considerable article in the January number of the *History Teacher's Magazine* is American Revolutionary History in High School, by Professor C. E. Persinger, a discussion, in broad outline, of the Revolutionary movement. In this number of the *Magazine* is found also a reprint, from the *Indiana University Bulletin* of September, 1915, of Professor S. B. Harding's paper on the Nature and Method of History. In the February number Professor C. R. Fish discusses American Diplomatic History in High School (with a bibliography), and L. A. Chase describes "How Furs came down from the North Country". The articles in the March number relate largely to the teaching of recent history. They are: the Study of Recent American

History, by Professor F. L. Paxson; Recent American History through the Actors' Eyes, by Professor C. R. Lingley; Classroom Treatment of Recent Events in Europe and America, by Professor R. M. McElroy; Teaching Recent American History, by R. E. Phyfe; Journalism as an Aid to History Teaching, by Dr. E. E. Slosson; the Use of Current Literature, by G. E. Boynton; and a Class in Current Events, by A. B. Kirk.

The thesis maintained by Professor Elliot Smith in his *Migrations of Early Culture* (Manchester University Publications, no. CII.) is that the culture of ancient Egypt travelled along the shores of Asia and across the Pacific to North and South America, where it may now be traced.

Volumes I. and II. of *East and West through Fifteen Centuries from B. C. 44 to A. D. 1453*, by Brig.-Gen. G. F. Young, have been published by Longmans, Green, and Company. The work is to consist of four volumes.

The Library of Congress publishes, in continuance of an annual series, a *List of Doctoral Dissertations printed in 1914* (pp. 157), prepared by Miss Alida M. Stephens, embracing all fields of study, and arranged alphabetically and by subjects.

Professor John L. Myres of Oxford, in a paper on *The Influence of Anthropology on the Course of Political Science* (*University of California Publications in History*, IV. 1, pp. 81), shows how, stage by stage since the Renaissance, the theorist in political science has been dependent on the anthropological data furnished him by contemporary travellers or observers.

The second edition of Dr. J. Neville Figgis's *The Divine Right of Kings* (Cambridge University Press, 1914, pp. xi, 406; for a review of the first edition see *American Historical Review*, II. 371) finds its justification in three new essays, relied on to correct in some points the views expressed in the older essays. The first of the additional chapters, "Aaron's Rod blossoming: Jus Divinum in 1646", develops as the essence of Presbyterianism the recognition of *two* kingdoms, Church and State, without recognizing the possibility of legitimate divisions in the Church. The second is on "Erastus and Erastianism". The last essay, "Bartolus and the Development of European Political Ideas", adds a survey of European thought to the more purely English studies of the earlier edition.

A greater historical interest attaches to *Comparative Free Government*, by Professor Jesse Macy and John W. Gannaway (Social Science Text-Books), than to most works in political science. Its purpose, as stated by the authors, is to present a comparative study, not of existing institutions, but rather of the processes by which free government is being attained. In the space devoted to the United States familiar ground

is covered but the study of the evolution of English, French, German, and Swiss institutions in part II. is not so easily accessible in text-book form, and the presentation of institutional processes in the countries of South America is a distinctly new and useful feature. The volume also contains an extensive bibliography and a handy list of cases in constitutional law.

The Royal Colonial Institute has published *A Select Bibliography of Publications on Foreign Colonization* by Winifred C. Hill. Careful and useful, it is however confined to publications contained in the Institute's library, which appears to contain little respecting the colonies of other powers than Great Britain.

The lectures given on the Barbour-Page Foundation at the University of Virginia, in February, were a series on the Origin and Formation of the Triple Alliance, by Professor Archibald C. Coolidge of Harvard University.

The Naval History Society has distributed to members a *Catalogue of the John S. Barnes Memorial Library*, recently presented to the society (New York, 1915, pp. 377). It is a valuable aid to naval bibliography, the collection being so remarkable a one, but it is marred by a great number of errors in the transcription of French and other foreign titles.

The January *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library is mainly occupied with a list of works in the library relating to American inter-oceanic canals; that for February with a list of works on Buddhism.

The Paris law thesis of L. Jacob treats of *La Clause de Livraison des Archives Publiques dans les Traités d'Annexion* (Paris, Giard and Brière, 1915, pp. 120).

Number 23 of the *Publications* of the American Jewish Historical Society (1915, pp. xx, 236) presents many interesting documents and some valuable articles. Among the latter is an account, by Mr. William V. Byars, of the mercantile efforts of Barnard and Michael Gratz, trading from Philadelphia through the West, from 1754 to 1774, from the papers of these brothers; an article by Mr. Leon Hühner on some Jewish associates of John Brown in his Kansas struggles, and another on Jews interested in privateering in America during the eighteenth century; a paper by Mr. Lee M. Friedman on early Jewish residents in Massachusetts; and a report of the energetic committee on foreign archives, by its chairman, Mr. Albert M. Friedenberg. The documents relate to the Jews in Jamaica and Barbados, *temp.* William III., to early struggles for the removal of Jewish disabilities in Canada, to the wills of early Jewish settlers in New York, and similar matters.

The American Jewish Historical Society held its twenty-fourth annual meeting in Philadelphia on February 20 and 21. Papers were read by Mr. Samuel Oppenheim, upon points in the history of the

Jews in New York; by Rabbi Julius J. Price, on various matters in the history of the Jews in Canada; by Mr. Leon Hühner, on points of Jewish interest in American colonial and Revolutionary history; by Rev. Dr. David de Sola Pool, on the Mohelim in Curaçao and Surinam and on the Hazanim in eighteenth-century New York; by Mr. Albert M. Friedenberg, on the economic interpretation of American Jewish history; and by others.

In the series of pamphlets exhibiting its system of classification, the Library of Congress has now printed "as manuscript" its data for *Class C, Auxiliary Sciences of History* (pp. 176), which may be of use to many historical students.

Science for November 26 has for its main contents a valuable article by Dr. Frederick E. Brasch of Stanford University on the teaching of the history of science, with abundant data as to the present status of such teaching in America.

An English translation of Professors Gide and Rist's excellent *History of Economic Doctrine* has been published by Messrs. Heath. The translation is the work of R. Richards, lecturer in the University College of North Wales.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. P. Usher, *The Generalizations of Economic History* (*American Journal of Sociology*, January); J. E. G. de Montmorency, *The Psychology of Sumptuary Laws* (*Edinburgh Review*, January); C. D. Buck, *Language and the Sentiment of Nationality* (*American Political Science Review*, February).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: G. Glotz, *Histoire Grecque, 1911-1914*, II. (*Revue Historique*, January).

M. Streck has published in the *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek* a monumental work on *Assurbanipal und die Letzten Assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Ninevehs* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1915) in three parts: introduction, texts, and index.

A book valuable to all students of the Homeric age is *Homer and His Story* by Walter Leaf (Macmillan), though one may not agree with his estimate of the historic value of parts of Homer.

The first volume of an enlarged third edition of G. Dittenberger's *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1915) will be welcomed.

F. Preisigke has recently issued the fifth part, completing the first volume, of his valuable *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten* (Strassburg, Trübner, 1913-1915).

A volume of *Weströmische Studien* (Berlin, Mayer and Müller, 1915, pp. 164, review by A. Rosenberg, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, October 30),

by J. Sundwall of the University of Helsingfors, deals with the western empire in the time of the barbarian invasions.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Asmussen, *Die Einwanderung Israels in Kanaan* (Memnon, VII. 4); Walter Leaf, *On a History of Greek Commerce* (Journal of Hellenic Studies, XXXV. 2); M. N. Tod, *The Progress of Greek Epigraphy, 1914-1915* (ibid.); M. O. B. Caspari, *The Ionian Confederacy* (ibid.); U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Der Waffenstillstandsvertrag von 423 v. Chr.* (Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie, 1915, XXXIX.); E. von Stern, *Kleomenes III. und Archidamos* (Hermes, L. 4); W. Soltan, *Die Ursachen eines Antiken Weltkrieges* (Neue Jahrbücher, XXXV. 7); K. J. Beloch, *Polybios' Quellen im Dritten Buche* (Hermes, L. 3); A. Klotz, *Zu den Quellen der Vierten und Fünften Dekade des Livius* (ibid., 4); A. Klotz, *Der Helvetierzug: zur Glaubwürdigkeit von Cäsars Commentarii de Bello Gallico* (Neue Jahrbücher, XXXV. 10); F. Smith, *Die Schlacht bei Carrhæ* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXV. 2); F. Blumenthal, *Die Autobiographie des Augustus*, III. (Wiener Studien, XXXVI.); F. Kampers, *Die Geburtsurkunde der Abendländischen Kaiseridee* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXXVI. 2).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

General review: C. Guignebert, *Antiquités Chrétiennes* (Revue Historique, November).

The Book of the Popes (Liber Pontificalis), translated and edited by Dr. Louise R. Loomis, is soon to appear as the second volume of the series, *Records of Civilization*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. von Harnack, *Die Älteste Griechische Kircheninschrift* (Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie, 1915, XLIII.); F. Loofs, *Das Bekenntnis Lucians, des Märtyrers* (ibid., XXXVIII.); P. Corssen, *Begriff und Wesen des Märtyrers in der Alten Kirche* (Neue Jahrbücher, XXXV. 8).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General review: A. Werminghoff, *Neuerscheinungen zur Religions- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, XVIII.).

Mr. George W. Robinson, secretary of the Harvard Graduate School, has prepared, with introduction and notes, the first English translation of *Willibald: the Life of Saint Boniface*, which may be had from the Harvard University Press.

Dr. Fritz Kern has continued his studies in the history of ideas in the Middle Ages in *Gottesgnadentum und Widerstandsrecht im Früheren Mittelalter, zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Monarchie* (Leipzig, Koehler, 1915, pp. xxxii, 444).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Wilmotte, *Une Nouvelle Théorie sur l'Origine des Chansons de Geste* (Revue Historique, November); G. B. Borino, *Per la Storia della Riforma della Chiesa nel Secolo XI.* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXXVIII. 3-4); L. Mirot, *Une Tentative d'Invasion en Angleterre pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans, 1385-1386* [conclusion] (Revue des Études Historiques, October); B. Bess, *Die Lehre vom Tyrannenmord auf dem Konstanzer Konzil* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XXXVI. 1).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Since publishing his study on Mercurino da Gattinara, chancellor of Charles V., Professor C. Bornate has discovered the autograph manuscript of the *Historia Vitae et Gestorum per Dominum Magnum Cancellarium, Mercurino Arborio da Gattinara*, and has published it (Turin, Artigianelli, 1915), with notes and illustrative documents. Another volume on the same reign is Häpke's *Die Regierung Karls V. und der Europäische Norden* (Lübeck, Schmidt, 1915).

The Hispanic Society of America has recently issued two facsimiles having much historical significance and superior artistic merit, both edited by Dr. Edward L. Stevenson, acting director of that society: the first, the portolan atlas "Joan Martines en Messina, 1582", with an introduction and a list of Martines's known cartographical productions; the second, the portolan atlas of Count Freducci Ottomano, 1537.

Volume LIX. of the *Publications* of the Scottish History Society contains *Papers relating to the Scots in Poland, 1576-1793* (Edinburgh, University Press, 1915, pp. xxxix, 362), edited by A. F. Steuart.

A. Battistella has made an excellent contribution to the history of Italy in the eighteenth century in his *La Guerra di Successione Polacca, desunta da Lettere Private del Tempo* (Venice, Ferrari, 1915).

Captain Louis Jouan has published under the direction of the French general staff *La Campagne de 1794-1795 dans les Pays-Bas*, of which the first volume deals with *La Conquête de la Belgique, Mai-Juillet, 1794* (Paris, Fournier, 1915, pp. 424). *La Victoire de l'An II.* (Paris, Alcan, 1915) is a volume of careful historical work by Professor Albert Mathiez of the University of Besançon, with a present-day patriotic interest.

A. E. Robert has collected and edited the *Traités et Conventions Diplomatiques entre la France et la Russie depuis 1814* (Paris, Rousseau, 1915, pp. viii, 208).

In *Belle-Alliance* (Berlin, Eisenschmidt, 1915, pp. xv, 296) Professor J. von Pflugk-Harttung has collected a number of narratives, mostly unpublished hitherto, recording the experiences of German troops in Wellington's army during the Waterloo campaign. A curious addition

to the Waterloo literature is Bleibtreu's *Englands Grosse Waterloo-Lüge* (Berlin, Bismarck Verlag, 1915).

E. Chapuisat has edited the *Journal de Jean Gabriel Eynard* (Paris, Plon, 1915) at the Congress of Vienna.

No. XVIII. of the *Oxford Pamphlets, 1914-1915*, consists of a volume of treaties compiled by R. B. Mowat to "illustrate the development of the modern state system".

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Schultze, *Terrorismus der Hauptstadt* (Neue Jahrbücher, XXXV. 8); N. Paulus, *Berühmte, doch Unechte Ablässe* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXXVI. 3); I. Lubimenko, *Les Relations Diplomatiques de l'Angleterre avec la Russie au XVI^e Siècle* (Revue Historique, January); W. H. Mallock, *Early Romance of English Trade with Russia* (Dublin Review, October); R. Dollot, *Les Étapes de la Neutralité Belge de Richelieu à nos Jours* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October); G. Lote, *La Rive Gauche du Rhin de 1792 à 1814* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, November); G. Cassi, *Les Napoléons et l'Adriatique* (ibid., January); G. Fagniez, *Le Littoral Oriental de l'Adriatique et le Duc de Raguse, 1806-1814* (Revue Hebdomadaire, January 8); H. Freiherr von Egloffstein, *Carl Bertuchs Tagebuch vom Wiener Kongress* (Deutsche Rundschau, October, November, December, January); Selma Stern, *Juliane von Krüdener: eine Erinnerung an die Tage der Heiligen Allianz 1815* (ibid., November); Baron Hennes de Goutel, *La Crise de 1815 à la Légation de France à Constantinople* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, January); J. Mathorez, *Les Réfugiés Politiques Espagnols dans l'Orne au XIX^e Siècle* (Bulletin Hispanique, October); A. Nélidow, *Souvenirs d'après la Guerre de 1877-1878*, III. (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 15); R. Eickhoff, *Die Interparlamentarische Union, 1889-1914* (Zeitschrift für Politik, VIII. 3); G. Kampffmeyer, *Die Grundlagen der Marokkofrage* (ibid.).

THE GREAT WAR

General reviews: C. Bastide, *La Littérature Anglaise et la Guerre* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October); F. von Martitz, *Der Fall Lusitania [und der Unterseebootkrieg]* (Deutsche Literaturzeitung, January 1).

A Second List of Publications bearing on the War (London, 1915, pp. 39), prepared by Professor G. W. Prothero, has been published by the Central Committee for National Patriotic Organizations.

International law in its relations to the maritime war is discussed in H. Steinuth, *England und der U-Boot-Krieg* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags Anstalt, 1915, pp. 91); C. Meurer, *Der Lusitania-Fall: eine Völkerrechtliche Studie* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1915); and *Der Lusitania-Fall im Urteile von Deutschen Gelehrten* (Breslau, Kern, 1915). The question of *The Law of Contraband of War* (Oxford, Clarendon Press,

1915, pp. xl, 314) has been treated by H. R. Pyke, with a study of its historical development.

Additional periodical histories of the war are: *Der Grosse Krieg*, published in biweekly parts by the *Frankfurter Zeitung*; *La Guerra d'Italia* (Milan, Treves); *La Guerra Italiana, Cronistoria degli Avvenimenti*, edited by E. Mercatali (Milan, Sonzogno); and *Diario della Guerra d'Italia, Raccolta dei Bullettini Ufficiali e Altri Documenti* (Milan, Treves).

E. Bergmann has made a study of *Fichte der Erzieher zum Deutschtum* (Leipzig, Meiner, 1915, pp. 340). In *France et Allemagne* (Paris, Payot, 1915), E. Perrier traces the development of ideas from Gobineau to Ostwald. Professor C. Andler has collected and translated a wealth of materials illustrative of the development of German national and racial ideas and ambitions in *Le Pangermanisme Continental sous Guillaume II., de 1888 à 1914* (Paris, Conard, 1915). Gustave Le Bon has produced a characteristic volume of *Enseignements Psychologiques de la Guerre Européenne* (Paris, Flammarion, 1915). The little volume of A. van Gennep, *Le Génie de l'Organisation: la Formule Française et Anglaise opposée à la Formule Allemande* (Paris, Payot, 1915, pp. 114), may be read as an antidote to *Händler und Helden, Patriotische Besinnungen* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1915, pp. vi, 145) by Professor Werner Sombart. Contributions by Lamprecht, Haackel, Eucken, Dernburg, and many others are included in *Die Vernichtung der Englischen Weltmacht und des Russischen Tsarismus durch den Dreibund und den Islam* (Berlin, Borngröber, 1915, pp. 235).

Economic Aspects of the War: Neutral Rights, Belligerent Claims, and American Commerce in the Years 1914-1915 (Yale University Press), by Professor Edwin J. Clapp, puts much of its emphasis on the British Orders in Council relative to the trade of neutrals with Germany.

Messrs. George Barrie's Sons, of Philadelphia, have begun the issue of an elaborate work in five or more volumes, entitled *The Great War*, in which three authors, Dr. George H. Allen of the University of Pennsylvania, Captain Henry C. Whitehead, U. S. A., and Rear-Admiral F. E. Chadwick, U. S. N. retired, will endeavor, so far as it can be done at the present time, to relate the history of the war, its origins, conduct, and results, with the fullest of information, and certainly with fairness of intention. The first volume is devoted to consideration of the events and conditions lying behind the war and of the motives that led toward it. This volume (pp. xxv, 337, with maps and other elaborate illustrations) has already been published. The second will review the mental and physical preparations for the war, the resources of the various nations, and the processes of mobilization. The third will begin a record of hostilities.

Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons have also, by the publication of the first volume, "The Genesis", begun the issue of a large work on the subject, *The History of the Great War*, by Briggs Davenport.

The following are among the more substantial or interesting attempts to describe the progress of the campaign on the west front: G. Babin, *La Bataille de la Marne* (Paris, Plon, 1915, pp. 92, 9 maps); L. Lumet, *La Défense Nationale: un An de Guerre* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1915), a collection of documents; F. Engerand, *L'Allemagne et le Fer: les Frontières Lorraines et la Force Allemande* (Paris, Perrin, 1915); Ian Malcolm, M. P., *War Pictures behind the Lines* (London, Smith, Elder, 1915, pp. xviii, 226); M. Barrès, *Une Visite à l'Armée Anglaise* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1915, pp. 116); G. V. Williams, correspondent of the *Daily Mail*, *With our Army in Flanders* (London, Arnold, 1915, pp. xi, 347); and *With the First Canadian Contingent* (Toronto, Hodder and Stoughton, 1915, pp. 118), a collection of letters and photographs published in behalf of the Canadian Field Comforts Commission.

The official story of the Canadian expeditionary forces in the western theatre is begun by the issue of volume I. of *Canada in Flanders* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1916), by Sir William Maxwell Aitken, Canadian record officer. The same publishers have issued the first volume (pp. 315) of *A Military History of the War from the Declaration of War to the close of the Campaign of August, 1914*, by Captain Cecil Battine, military correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*.

In addition to the second volume of A. Masson, *L'Invasion des Barbares* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1915), covering January to June, 1915, and the several periodical publications already cited, there have been some attempts to present a comprehensive view of the war. *La Guerre des Nations, Août-Décembre, 1914* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1915, pp. xiv, 274), by Capt. Angelo Gatti, is based upon his admirable articles in the *Corriere della Sera* of critical comment on the military operations. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu has, in similar fashion, produced *La Guerre de 1914* (Paris, Delagrave, 1915, pp. 520) dealing with events through July, 1915. In Italian, A. Cabiati and F. Guidi have issued the first volume of *La Grande Guerra* (Milan, Sonzogno, 1915, pp. xii, 432).

Professor G. Jèze of Paris has written *Les Finances de Guerre de la France* (Paris, Giard and Brière, 1915), and a similar volume on England to which a supplement has later been added.

Records of personal experiences in the French army appear in H. d'Estre, *D'Oran à Arras: Impressions de Guerre d'un Officier d'Afrique* (Paris, Plon, 1916); G. Riou, *Journal d'un Simple Soldat, Guerre, Captivité, 1914-1915* (Paris, Hachette, 1916); C. Mallet, *Étapes et Combats: Souvenirs d'un Cavalier devenu Fantassin, 1914-1915* (Paris, Plon, 1916); and L. de Grandmaison, *Impressions de Guerre de Prêtres Soldats* (*ibid.*).

Abbé Wetterlé, the former Alsatian deputy in the Reichstag, has published *L'Allemagne qu'on voyait et celle qu'on ne voyait pas* (Paris, Édition Française Illustrée, 1916); *Ce qu'était l'Alsace-Lorraine et ce qu'elle sera* (Paris, Floury, 1915); and two series of *Propos de Guerre* (Paris, Édition Française Illustrée, 1915). P. A. Helmer has published *France-Alsace* (*ibid.*, 1916); and an extensive illustrated work in which Welschinger, Pfister, Diehl, Wetterlé, and many others have co-operated, *L'Alsace et la Lorraine* (Paris, Sirven, 1916), is appearing in parts. The most notable recent discussion of the Alsatian question in France is *La Question d'Alsace-Lorraine* (Paris, Chapelot, 1915, pp. 132) by H. and A. Lichtenberger.

The political aspects of Italian participation in the war are recounted and discussed in W. O. Pitt, *Italy and the Unholy Alliance* (London, Melrose, 1915, pp. 227); Leopold, Freiherr von Chlumecký, *Die Agonie des Dreibundes: das Letzte Jahrzehnt Italienischer Untrene* (Vienna, Deuticke, 1915, pp. vii, 443); Severus, *Zehn Monate Italienischer Neutralität, was das Italienische Grünbuch sagt und verschweigt* (Gotha, Perthes, 1915); General Filareti, *La Conflagrazione Europea e l'Italia* (Lanciano, Carabba, 1915, pp. 248); J. Bainville, *La Guerre et l'Italie* (Paris, Fayard, 1916); C. de Saint-Cyr, *Pourquoi l'Italie est notre Alliée?* (Paris, Mignot, 1916). The peaceful penetration by Germany before the war is denounced in G. Preziosi, *La Germania alla Conquista dell'Italia* (Florence, Lib. della Voce, 1914). Italy's ambitions with regard to the Adriatic are discussed in C. Vellay, *La Question de l'Adriatique* (Paris, Chapelot, 1915); G. Cassi, *Il Mare Adriatico, sua Funzione attraverso il Tempo* (Milan, 1915, pp. xix, 532); and A. Tamaro, *Italiani e Slavi nell' Adriatico* (Rome, Athenaeum, 1915, pp. 360).

The sixth volume of the *Chronik des Deutschen Krieges nach Amtlichen Berichten und Zeitgenössischen Kundgebungen* (Munich, Beck, 1915), compiled by K., Freiherr von Lupin, covers events to July, 1915, and the fourth volume of C. H. Baer, *Der Völkerkrieg* (Stuttgart, Hoffmann, 1915), carries the narrative to February, 1915. *Der Grosse Krieg* (Stuttgart, Lutz, 1915), edited by E. Rosen, is in its third volume. The above works are compiled largely from journalistic materials and aside from the publication of documents are only valuable as attempts to meet the immediate demand for a compact and consecutive narrative of events. *In den Glutten des Weltbrandes* (Würzburg, Kabitzsch, 1915-1916, vols I.-V.), edited by F. Heuler, is a perfervid, patriotic compilation, including some personal narratives. *Der Deutsche Krieg in Feldpostbriefen* (Munich, Müller, 1915, vols. I.-IV.), edited by J. Delbrück, and *Der Oesterreichisch-Ungarische Krieg in Feldpostbriefen* (*ibid.*, vols. I.-II.), edited by M. Winter, are better and more modest performances. Still better Austrian efforts are Hemberger, *Der Europäische Krieg und der Weltkrieg* (Vienna, Hartleben,

1915, vol. I.), and R. von Kralik, *Geschichte des Weltkrieges* (Vienna, Holzhausen, 1915, vol. I., pp. 362).

Besides the several pamphlet series noted in earlier issues, the Deutsche Vorderasienkomitee has issued no less than twelve numbers of a *Schriftsammlung* (Leipzig, Veit) for the publication of articles relating to Asiatic and especially Turkish questions. Sixteen numbers of *Deutsche Kriegsschriften* (Bonn, Marcus and Weber); twelve of *Tat-Flugschriften* (Jena, Diederichs); and fourteen of *Sammlung von Schriften zur Zeitgeschichte* (Jena, Fischer) show that the popular taste in Germany now demands, instead of political discussion, stirring narratives of personal experiences in the war.

The successive numbers of the *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* have been devoted almost entirely to articles on a single subject connected with the war. The August issue was entitled *Die Deutschen Kolonien*; September, *Der Balkan*; October, *Deutschlands Zukunft*; and November, *Friedensziele*.

German experiences in the war are narrated by W. Reinhardt, *Sechs Monate Westfront, Feldzugserlebnisse eines Artillerieoffiziers in Belgien, Flandern, und der Champagne* (Berlin, Mittler, 1915, pp. 96); Professor George Wegener, "Kriegsberichterstatte", *Der Wall von Eisen und Feuer: ein Jahr an der Westfront* (Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1915, pp. 190); M. Lang, *Feldgrau, erste Kriegserlebnisse in Frankreich* (Stuttgart, Thienemann, 1915, pp. 142); A. Kutscher, *Kriegstagebuch* (Munich, Beck, 1915, pp. v, 264), a record of service on the west front; A. Leopold, *Im Schützengraben: Erlebnisse eines Schwäbischen Musketiers auf der Wacht und beim Angriff in Polen* (Stuttgart, Thienemann, 1915, pp. 114); Rifat Gozovic Pasha, *Im Blutigen Karst: Erinnerungen eines Oesterreichischen Offiziers aus dem Kriegsjahr, 1914* (*ibid.*, pp. 168). A volume of Italian experiences, *Al Fronte, Maggio-Ottobre 1915* (Milan, Treves, 1915, pp. 429), is by L. Barzini.

The late Henri Davignon, Belgian minister of foreign affairs, just before his death published in English, in a quarto pamphlet, *Belgium and Germany* (London and New York, Thomas Nelson and Sons, pp. 132), a large number of documents relative to Germany's dealings with Belgium during the war, accompanied by facsimiles of proclamations, miscellaneous documents, and other illustrations.

Mr. Stanley Washburn has followed his early volume, *Field Notes from the Russian Front*, by a second, entitled *The Russian Campaign* (Scribners).

Mein Kriegstagebuch (Berlin, Fischer, 1915), by A. Madelung, is an account of the campaign in Galicia and the Carpathians by a Swedish correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt*. F. Wertheimer has continued his earlier work on Mackensen's winter campaign in Poland with *Von der Weichsel bis zum Dnjestr* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags Anstalt, 1915, pp. 111).

Ashmead-Bartlett's despatches from the Dardanelles appear under the title *An Epic of Heroism* (London, Newnes, 1915, pp. 164). *The Dardanelles* (Longmans, 1915, pp. viii, 60) by Norman Wilkinson is a volume of finely reproduced color sketches with scanty text. Of better sort for the historian is G. Domergue, *La Guerre en Orient, aux Dardanelles, et dans les Balkans* (Paris, Perrin, 1915).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: S. Feist, *La Théorie de la Race et la Guerre* (Revue Politique Internationale, September); Count Julius Andrassy, *Entwicklung und Ziele Mitteleuropas* (Deutsche Rundschau, December); General Malleterre, *Les Opérations de la Guerre en 1914*, I. (Revue des Sciences Politiques, December); O. Schneider, *Die Kriegsfinanzen der Europäischen Grossmächte* (Schmollers Jahrbuch, XXXIX. 3); P. Zorn, *Streitfragen des Seekriegsrechts zwischen Deutschland, England, und Amerika* (Westermanns Monatshefte, October); R. Worms, *La Juridiction des Prises* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 1); Contre-Amiral Degouy, *Réflexions et Souvenirs* (Revue de Paris, November 15); E. Zavie, *Prisonniers de Guerre, Septembre 1914-Juillet 1915* (Mercure de France, October 1, November 1, December 1, January 1); Comte F. van den Steen de Jehay [Belgian minister to Luxemburg], *Comment s'est faite l'Invasion du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 1); L. Lobbé, *Lettres d'un Instituteur de la Classe 14* (Revue de Paris, January 1); Commandant Davin, *Les Corsaires Allemands* (*ibid.*); "Un Français de Metz", *Choses vues à Metz pendant la Guerre* (Revue Hebdomadaire, December 18); J. W. Bienstock, *Varsovie aux Mains des Allemands: Récit d'un Témoin Oculaire* (Mercure de France, February 1); K. Friedrich, *Aus dem Befreiten Kurland* (Preussische Jahrbücher, November); X., *Avec le Corps Expéditionnaire d'Orient* (Revue de Paris, December 1, 15); R. Moulin, *Le Maroc et la Guerre* (Revue Hebdomadaire, January 1); C. Stienon, *La Campagne Coloniale des Alliés en 1914 et 1915* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 1, 15, December 1).

GREAT BRITAIN

Volume II., part I., of the *British Academy Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales*, edited by G. J. Turner and the Rev. H. E. Salter, is *The Register of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, commonly called the Black Book* (London, Humphrey Milford, pp. xlv, 377). Other works in preparation are: *A Feodary of the Templars, A. D. 1185*, edited by the late Marquis d'Albon and Rev. H. E. Salter; *A Terrier of Fleet, Lincolnshire*, edited by Dr. Nellie Neilson of Mount Holyoke College; *Documents illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danclaw*, edited by Professor F. M. Stenton; and *A Book of Accounts of Bolton Abbey*, edited by Mr. R. J. Whitwell.

That the war has quickened the interest of the English in military history is well attested by the appearance of a number of studies of the

English army. Among others are: *History of the Royal and Indian Artillery in the Mutiny of 1857*, by Col. Julian R. J. Jocelyn; *The Story of the Royal Scots*, by L. Weaver; *The Royal Welsh Fusiliers*, by H. A. Tipping; *The Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry*, by Sir Henry Newbolt (the last three in the *Country Life* series).

Following Wagner's thesis (1904) on the religious history of the reign of Richard II., H. Junghanns has written a thesis *Zur Geschichte der Englischen Kirchenpolitik von 1399 bis 1413* (Strassburg, Caritas Druckerei, 1915, pp. xvi, 104).

Volume II. of *A Picture Book of British History*, compiled by S. C. Roberts, extends from 1485 to 1688 and illustrates a wide range of topics. While portraits of course predominate, such subjects as the renaissance of learning, early Tudor, Elizabethan, and Jacobean architecture, and the return of Charles II., are given ample space. Any teacher of history will find the book an illuminating aid.

An excellent volume on *Les Protestants Anglais Réfugiés à Genève au Temps de Calvin, 1555-1560* (Geneva, Jullien, 1915) is by Charles Martin.

The first volume of Professor Arnold O. Meyer's admirable book on the Catholics in Queen Elizabeth's time (*American Historical Review*, XVI. 807) has been issued by Messrs. Kegan Paul in an authorized translation by Father J. R. McKee, *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth*.

The Baptist Historical Society, in commemoration of one of its early heroes closely related to the Pilgrim Fathers, has brought out in two volumes (Cambridge University Press) a Tercentenary Edition of the *Works* of John Smyth, with a biography by Mr. W. T. Whitley.

In *Elizabeth Hooton, first Quaker Woman Preacher, 1660-1672* (London, Herdley, 1914), the story is told by Mrs. Manners chiefly from the letters and papers of Mrs. Hooton.

Eighteenth Century Non-Conformity by the Rev. J. Hay Colligan (Longmans), though a small volume, bears evidence of careful investigation and much thought.

Mr. John Murray is soon to publish the private correspondence of Lord Granville Leveson Gower, afterward the first Earl Granville (1773-1846), a noted diplomat, father of the more celebrated second earl. The work, which is to appear in two volumes, is edited by his daughter-in-law, the Dowager Countess Granville.

The Life of Field-Marshal Sir George White, V. C., by Sir Mortimer Durand, has been published in two volumes by Messrs. Blackwood.

A good popular sketch of *Herbert Henry Asquith* (London, Newnes, 1915, pp. vii, 167) has been written by H. Spender. Similar volumes

have been issued by the same publisher dealing with several other prominent English statesmen of the day.

The issues of the Scottish History Society since its last general meeting consist of *The Scots in Poland*, elsewhere mentioned; vol. II. of *Selections from the Records of the Regality of Melrose*; the *Letter Book of Bailie John Stuart of Inverness*; *Rentale Dunkeldense*; and *Letters of the Earl of Seafield*. The next volumes to appear will be vol. III. of the *Records of the Regality of Melrose*, vol. II. of *Wariston's Diary*, and a *Bibliography of Topographical Works relating to Scotland*.

No. 43 of the series published by the London School of Economics is a painstaking study of *The Lands of the Scottish Kings in England* by Margaret F. Moore, Carnegie fellow in palaeography and early economic history in the University of Edinburgh (Allen and Unwin).

A *Calendar of the Gormanston Register*, from the original in the possession of Viscount Gormanston, prepared and edited by Messrs. James Mills and Michael J. McEnery, has been issued by the Dublin University Press (pp. 272). The Gormanston Register is an entry-book of the title-deeds of the Gormanston estates, compiled mainly during 1397 and 1398 for Sir Christopher de Preston, lord of that manor.

Richard C. Mills is the author of a volume entitled *The Colonization of Australia: the Wakefield Experiment in Empire Building, 1829-1842* (Sidgwick and Jackson), which studies with care that experiment in colonization. The volume contains an introduction by Graham Wallas.

British government publications: *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, vol. VI.; *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain*, vol. XI., Edward VI. and Mary, 1553, ed. Royall Tyler; *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign*, Elizabeth, July 1583-July 1584, ed. S. C. Lomas; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Anne, vol. I., 1702-1703, ed. R. P. Mahaffy.

Other documentary publications: *The Black Book of Southampton*, vol. III. (concluding volume), 1497-1620, ed. A. B. Wallis Chapman (Southampton Record Society); *York Memorandum Book*, vol. II., 1388-1493, ed. Maud Sellers (Surtees Society).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. A. Morris, *The Office of Sheriff in the Anglo-Saxon Period* (English Historical Review, January); W. E. Lunt, *Collectors' Accounts for the Clerical Tenth levied in England by Order of Nicholas IV.* (*ibid.*); Theodora Keith, *Municipal Elections in the Royal Burghs of Scotland prior to the Union* (Scottish Historical Review, January); K. Benrath, *Heinrich VIII. von England, Defensor Fidei* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXV. 2); Mrs. Eric George, *Notes on the Origin of the Declared Account* (English Historical Review, January); A. Chevrillon, *L'Angleterre et la Guerre, I.-IV.* (Revue de Paris, November 1, 15, December 15, January 1); H. Carré, *L'Effort Militaire Anglais* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15).

FRANCE

The Ministry of Public Instruction plans to issue before long, in the *Collection de Documents Inédits*, a body of *Commentaires* of the faculty of medicine in the University of Paris (1395-1515), edited by Dr. E. Wickersheimer, and the first volume of a *Recueil de Documents sur l'Histoire de l'Instruction Publique pendant la Période du Directoire*, ed. J. Guillaume; also additional volumes of M. Aulard's *Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public* (XXIV.), of M. Caron's *Rapports des Agents du Ministère de l'Intérieur* (II.), and of M. Debidour's *Procès-verbaux et Arrêtés du Directoire Exécutif* (IV.).

In the third volume of his *Histoire de Charles V.* (Paris, Picard, 1916, pp. 571), R. Delachenal deals with the years 1364-1368.

Un Favori de Louis XI.: Boffille de Juge, Comte de Castres, Vice-Roi de Roussillon (Albi, Nougues, 1914, pp. xxxiv, 251) is an important study made from the documents by F. Pasquier, published as vol. X. of the *Archives Historiques de l'Albigeois*.

M. Louis Batiffol's volume on the period from 1483 to 1600 in M. Funck-Brentano's series, *Histoire de France racontée à tous*, has been brought out in an English translation, *The Century of the Renaissance*, by the firm of Heinemann.

Professor Henri Hauser published in January vol. IV., the volume for Henry IV., of his invaluable survey, *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France, 1494-1610*. The portions of the same general series relating to the period from 1715 to 1789, and to the period of the Revolution and the Empire, are announced as in course of preparation, the former by M. Maurice Tourneux, the latter by M. Pierre Caron.

Henri Bremond has undertaken an elaborate *Histoire Littéraire du Sentiment Religieux en France depuis la Fin des Guerres de Religion jusqu'à nos Jours* and has issued the first volume, on *L'Humanisme Dévot, 1580-1660* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1916). The three further volumes announced will only complete the work to 1700. Mention may be made in this connection of Dr. Léontine Zanta, *La Renaissance de Stoïcisme au XVI^e Siècle* (Paris, Champion, 1914, pp. ii, 367).

Maurice Pigallet has edited a *Mémoire de l'Intendant de Franche-Comté* (Paris, Champion, 1914, pp. 143) which dates from the close of the reign of Louis XIV.

That the war has not sufficed to stop entirely the publication of the *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française* is fortunately proved by the appearance of the first volume of the *Cahiers de Doléances . . . de la Sénéchaussée Particulière d'Angers* (Paris, Leroux, 1915, pp. cclxv, 418), edited by Professor A. Le Moy of the Lycée of Angers. The admirable introduction presents a wealth of information, gleaned with diligent care, on the or-

ganization and condition of the district in 1789, on the elections to the States General, and on the origins and adoption of the cahiers. The account of the muddle of the taxing system (pp. xx and ff.) is a clear and specific illustration of the utter failure of the old monarchy to grapple with the financial problem.

It appears that the author of the "*Life of Barnave*, by E. D. Bradby", reviewed in our last number (XXI. 348), is properly designated as Miss E. D. Bradby, not Mr., as the review mistakenly indicates.

J. Signorel, *Étude Historique sur la Législation Révolutionnaire relative aux Biens des Émigrés* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1915, pp. xix, 198). and H. Moris, *Organisation du Département des Alpes-Maritimes 1793; Lettres des Représentants Grégoire et Jagot, chargés de cette Mission* (Paris, Plon, 1916), are notable monographs on the Revolutionary period.

A. Martinien has continued his familiar work for the Napoleonic period by *État Nominatif des Officiers tués et blessés de 1816 à 1911* (Paris, Fournier, 1915, pp. 508), published under the direction of the general staff of the army.

The fourth volume of the *Notices, Inventaires, et Documents* series is *Les Associations Ouvrières encouragées par la Deuxième République, Décret du 5 Juillet 1848, Documents inédits* (Paris, Rieder, 1915, pp. 196), edited by O. Festy.

Luise Schoeps has published a life of *Graf Vincent Benedetti* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1915) as vol. VII. of Fester's *Historische Studien*.

A volume from the pen of C. de Freycinet on *La Guerre en Province pendant le Siège de Paris, 1870-1871* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1915) is obviously a work of uncommon interest.

Lucien Delabrousse has published the first of two volumes on *Joseph Magnin et son Temps, 1824-1910, d'après les Documents Officiels et Parlementaires et une Correspondance inédite* (Paris, Alcan, 1915). The most important episode in Magnin's long career, the provisioning of Paris during the siege in 1870-1871, is dealt with in the present volume.

L. Muel, *Tableau Synoptique de tous les Ministères de la Troisième République, 1870-1915* (Paris, Pedone, 1915) is a useful compilation. An elaborate, illustrated *Histoire de France Contemporaine, 1871-1913* (Paris, Larousse, 1916) which has been appearing in forty parts, has just been completed.

Thiers's *Notes et Souvenirs* of the period from 1870 to 1873, first published in Paris in 1901, has now appeared in an English translation by F. M. Atkinson, *Memoirs of M. Thiers, 1870-1873* (London, Allen and Unwin).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Vidal de la Blache, *La Formation de la France de l'Est* (*Revue de Paris*, December 1, 15); G. Beaume,

Maguelone, Unique Fief Pontifical en Terre de France (Revue des Études Historiques, October); F. Puaux, *Le Dépeuplement et l'Incendie des Hautes-Cévennes, Octobre-Décembre 1703* (Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, September); M. Marion, *Le Recouvrement des Impôts en 1790* (Revue Historique, January); D. Zolla, *La Crise des Subsistances sous la Révolution* (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 1); A. Mathiez, *Le Cardinal Cambacérès Archevêque de Rouen* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, January); P. Gaffarel, *L'Esprit Public à Marseille de 1800 à 1814* (*ibid.*); G. Weill, *L'Alsace de 1815 à 1848* (Revue de Paris, January 15); L. Lévy-Bruhl, *Les Idées Sociales et Religieuses de Jean Jaurès* (*ibid.*); C. Jullian, *La Place de la Guerre Actuelle dans Notre Histoire Nationale* (Revue Bleue, January 15).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: C. Rinaudo, *Risorgimento Italiano, 1815-1915* (Rivista Storica Italiana, January).

Among the latest documentary publications for Italy in the later Middle Ages are *Le Pergamene di Matelica, Regesto* (Ascoli Piceno, Cesari, 1915, vol. I., 1162-1275), edited by Grimaldi; *Statuti dei Laghi di Como, di Lugano del Sec. XIV.* (Rome, Loescher, 1915, vol. II.), edited by E. Anderloni and A. Lazzati; *Codice Diplomatico dell' Università di Pavia* (1441-1450, Pavia, Fusi, 1915, vol. II., no. 2); *Epistolario* (Venice, Tip. Emiliana, 1915, vol. I., pp. xx, 704) of the humanist Guarino of Verona, edited by R. Sabbadini; and *Cronaca di Anonimo Veronese, 1446-1488* (*ibid.*, pp. lxxxii, 655), edited by G. Soranzo.

Some light on Neapolitan history at the time of the Masaniello episode may be obtained from R. Cianci di Sanseverino, *Matteo Cristiano, Governatore Generale delle Armi della Serenissima Repubblica di Napoli, 1647-1648* (Naples, De Alteriis, 1914, pp. 110).

From the never-failing supply of books on the Risorgimento, the following may be mentioned as among the more notable new publications: M. Mazziotti, *Ricordi di Famiglia, 1780-1860* (Milan, Albrighi, 1915, pp. 236); M. Degli Alberti, *La Politica Estera del Piemonte sotto Carlo Alberto* (Turin, Bocca, 1915, vol. II., pp. 616); G. Sitti, *Il Risorgimento Italiano nelle Epigrafi Parmensi* (Parma, Fresching, 1915, pp. 435); R. Ciasca, *L'Origine del "Programma per l'Opinione Nazionale Italiana" del 1847-1848* (Milan, Albrighi, 1915, pp. 624); R. Della Torre, *La Evoluzione del Sentimento Nazionale in Toscana dal 27 Aprile 1859 al 15 Marzo 1860* (*ibid.*, pp. 514); A. Fontana, *Cavour e il Socialismo* (Milan, Antonini, 1916, pp. 48); and M. Mazziotti, *Il Conte di Cavour e il suo Confessore* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1915, pp. viii, 143).

Albert Pingaud has written a new history of *L'Italie depuis 1870* (Paris, Delagrave, 1915, pp. xxix, 344).

The Italian government has entrusted to the Commissione della

Società per la Storia del Risorgimento the task of a systematic collecting of documentary material for the history of the war, especially of newspapers.

The *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, and the *Historia de la Poesía Castellana en la Edad Media* form the initial volumes of an edition of the complete works of the late Menéndez y Pelayo which will comprise nineteen volumes (Madrid, Suarez, 1915).

A recent publication of the Sociedad de Estudios Históricos Castellanos is an account of the famous constable of Castile under John II., *Don Alvaro de Luna según Testimonios inéditos de la Época* (Madrid, Montero, 1915, pp. 122), by León de Corral.

The *Vida Religiosa de los Moriscos* (Madrid, Imp. Ibérica, 1915, pp. lxxx, 319) by Pedro Longás is a publication of the Centro de Estudios Históricos. At the same time appears in Italy a *Storia della Tremenda Inquisizione di Spagna* (Florence, Salani, 1914, pp. 534), by V. de Fereal.

In año III., núm. 14, of the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla*, Señor Serrano y Sanz finishes his contribution on Spain and the Cherokees and Choctaws in the middle of the eighteenth century. In núm. 15, the chief article is one by Professor Germán Latorre, in continuation of his studies of American colonial cartography—in this instance, of the early cartography of New Granada and Venezuela.

R. Velázquez Bosco has written an account of the famous *Monasterio de Nuestra Señora de la Rábida* (Madrid, Fortanet, 1914, pp. 146).

La Universidad de Salamanca y los Reyes is the subtitle of the first volume of a *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca* (Salamanca, Núñez, 1914, pp. 120) by E. Esperabé Arteaga.

The third volume has appeared of the *Colecció de Documents Històrics inèdits del Arxiu Municipal de la Ciutat de Barcelona* (Barcelona, Henrich, 1914, pp. 339).

A volume of *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Portugiesischen Historiographie des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1915) by J. Albrecht is the sixth number of Fester's *Historische Studien*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Falco, *L'Amministrazione Papale nella Campagna e nella Marittima [750-1000]* (Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXXVIII. 3-4); G. Buzzi, *Ricerche per la Storia di Ravenna e di Roma dall' 850 al 1118* (*ibid.*, 1); R. L. Poole, *The See of Maurienne and the Valley of Susa* (English Historical Review, January, 1916); M. Merore, *Die Venezianischen Salinen der Aelteren Zeit in ihrer Wirtschaftlichen und Sozialen Bedeutung* (Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, XIII. 1); C. Huelsen, *Saggio di Bibliografia Ragionata delle Pianta Iconografiche e Prospettiche di Roma dal 1551 al 1748* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXXVIII. 1, pp. 105); G. Natali, *La Co-*

scienza Nazionale Italiana avanti la Rivoluzione Francese (Nuova Antologia, December 16); A. Lambert, *Les Origines de l'Imprimerie à Saragosse, 1473-1485* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, July).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General reviews: M. Buchner, *Zur Neuesten Literatur über die Entstehung des Kurfürstenkollegs* [conclusion] (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXXVI. 2); E. Chapisat, *La Suisse il y a Cent Ans* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, November).

The second volume (letters F-J) of the *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* (Strassburg, Trübner, 1915, pp. xi, 630), edited by J. Hoops, has been completed. It includes much material of value to the historian; especial mention should be made of the extended treatment of the topic "Handel".

In his *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes vom Dreizehnten Jahrhundert bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, the Jesuit Father Emil Michael begins the treatment of the political history in the sixth volume (Freiburg, Herder, 1915, pp. xxii, 512), which deals with the period 1198-1227. The earlier volumes have dealt with the economic, religious, scientific, literary, and artistic history of the time.

For J. Kohler's *Die Carolina und ihre Vorgängerinnen*, J. Kohler and C. Koehne have edited *Wormser Recht und Wormser Reformation* (Halle, Waisenhaus, 1915) as the fourth volume.

A new biography of *Ulrich von Hutten* (Leipzig, Insel-Verlag, 1915) is by D. F. Strauss. H. J. Kirch has furnished an account of *Die Fugger und der Schmalkaldische Krieg* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1915). The local history of the Reformation in the free cities has been studied in K. O. Müller, *Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Reformation in Ravensburg, 1523-1577* (Münster, Aschendorff, 1915); Ried, *Die Durchführung der Reformation in Weissenburg* (Freising, Datterer, 1915); and Bürckstümmer, *Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation in Dinkelsbühl, 1524-1648* (Leipzig, Haupt, 1915).

Dr. M. Höhler has edited, with introduction and appendixes, the *Tagbuch* (Mainz, Kirchheim, 1915, pp. vii, 354) of H. A. Arnold, as representative of the Elector of Trier at the Ems conference in 1786 on the affairs of the Catholic church in Germany.

Professor Ferdinand Schevill, of the University of Chicago, has recently published, through Messrs. McClurg, *The Making of Modern Germany*, six lectures.

Scharnhorsts Briefe (Munich, Müller, 1915) has been edited by K. Linnebach.

Die Literatur über den Feldzug 1864 (Berlin, Bath, 1915) is the first part of a *Bibliographie der Neueren Deutschen Kriegsgeschichte*, compiled by A. Buddecke.

Du Moulin-Eckart, *Bismarck: der Mann und das Werk* (Stuttgart, Union, 1915); Matthias, *Bismarck: sein Leben und sein Werk* (Munich, Beck, 1915); A. Kohut, *Bismarcks Beziehungen zu Ungarn und zu Ungarns Staatsmännern* (Berlin, Hofmann, 1915); and Günther, Freiherr von Richthoven, *Die Politik Bismarcks und Mantuffels in den Jahren 1851-1858* (Borna-Leipzig, Noske, 1915) are further centenary contributions to the history of the Iron Chancellor.

The United Associations of Schleswigers of Denmark have published a *Manuel Historique de la Question du Slesvig*, and more recently *Le Slesvig du Nord, 1906-1914* (Copenhagen, 1915, pp. 166), which contains a series of articles dealing with the Danish-German relations and with local affairs of the region.

In English form, Antoine Guillard's *Modern Germany and her Historians* has just appeared from the press of McBride, Nast, and Company. The volume, which appeared in German several years ago, deals with Niebuhr, Ranke, Mommsen, Sybel, and Treitschke.

Die Hohenzollern und ihr Werk: Fünfhundert Jahre Vaterländischer Geschichte (Berlin, Parey, 1915, pp. xvi+704) by O. Hintze is a work of genuine value, but *Fünf Jahrhundert Hohenzollernherrschaft in Brandenburg-Preussen* (Berlin, Paetel, 1915, pp. 175) by B. Rogge is of lighter weight.

Among recent monographs on Brandenburg-Prussian history E. J. Siedler, *Märkischer Städtebau im Mittelalter* (Berlin, Springer, 1914, pp. 148) has, even apart from the text, real value because of the numerous views and plans of towns. Other contributions for the medieval period are Ruhe, *Die Magdeburgisch-Brandenburgischen Lehnbeziehungen im Mittelalter* (Halle, Gebauer-Schwetschke, 1915), and W. Grünberg, *Der Ausgang der Pommerellischen Selbständigkeit* (Berlin, Ebering, 1915, pp. 143), which relates to the acquisition of the district by the Teutonic knights in the fourteenth century.

The later history of Brandenburg-Prussia is developed in F. Wolters, *Geschichte der Brandenburgischen Finanzen in der Zeit von 1640-1697: Darstellung und Akten* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1915, vol. I., pp. xxiv, 600) which initiates a series of *Urkunden und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Inneren Politik des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg*; also in L. Tümpel, *Die Entstehung des Brandenburgisch-Preussischen Einheitsstaates im Zeitalter des Absolutismus, 1609-1806* (Breslau, Marcus, 1915, pp. xxii, 267); J. Ziekursch, *Hundert Jahre Schlesischer Agrargeschichte, vom Hubertsburger Frieden bis zum Abschluss der Bauernbefreiung* (Breslau, Hirt, 1915); H. Markgraf, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte Schlesiens und Breslaus* (Breslau, Morgenstern, 1915); H. Kunau, *Die Stellung der Preussischen Konservativen zur Aeusseren Politik während des Krimkrieges* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1915); and Yves Guyot, *La Province Rhénane et la Westphalie: Étude Economique* (Paris, Attinger, 1915).

The eighteenth volume of the *Hohenzollern Jahrbuch* (Berlin, Giesecke and Devrient, 1915, pp. xxi, 241) is edited by Paul Seidel, and contains articles by the late R. Koser on the Great Elector and Charles X. of Sweden, and by Schuster on the relations of the Hohenzollerns with Württemberg, and the concluding sections of the correspondence of Crown Prince Frederick William and Prince William with their cousin the Princess Frederika in 1813-1815, and of the letters of Queen Sophia Dorothea, as well as various other contributions.

The Scottish Friend of Frederic the Great: the Last Earl Marischall, by Mrs. Edith E. Cuthell (Stanley Paul, 2 vols.), is the story of a varied career, told in considerable part by letters.

G. Kantenich, in commemoration of the centenary of the incorporation of the city into Prussia, has published an elaborate *Geschichte der Stadt Trier von ihrer Gründung bis zur Gegenwart* (Trier, Lintz, 1915, pp. ix, 1035). The second volume of J. Baur, *Philipp von Sötern, Geistlicher Kurfürst zu Trier, und seine Politik während des Dreissigjährigen Krieges* (Speyer, Jäger, 1915) has appeared. A contribution to the history of the neighboring electorate of Mainz is *Mainz in seinen Beziehungen zu den Deutschen Königen und den Erzbischöfen der Stadt bis zum Untergang der Stadtfreiheit, 1462* (Mainz, Wilckens, 1915) by Schrohe.

H. Wahl has edited the *Briefwechsel des Herzogs-Grossherzogs Carl August mit Goethe* (Berlin, Mittler, 1915, vol. I., 1775-1806, pp. 447) as the fourth number of the *Darstellungen und Briefe zur Geschichte des Weimarer Fürstenhauses und Landes*, edited by Erich Mareks, in commemoration of the centenary of the grand duchy.

In *Elsässische Urkunden vornehmlich des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Strassburg, Trübner, 1915, pp. 74), A. Hessel has published 54 documents, mostly inedited, from the years 1212-1308, which he collected while editing the *Regesten* of the bishops of Strassburg. With the *Catalogue des Actes des Ducs de Lorraine de 1048 à 1139 et de 1176 à 1220* (Nancy, Crépín-Leblond, 1915, pp. 264), E. Duvernoy has supplemented and completed the work begun in the appendix to his volume on *Le Duc de Lorraine, Mathieu I^{er}, 1139-1176* (1904).

Among recent studies in the history of Bohemia are A. Naegle, *Kirchengeschichte Böhmens, quellenmässig und kritisch dargestellt* (Vienna, Braumüller, 1915), of which the first volume deals with the introduction of Christianity; A. Zycha, *Ueber den Ursprung der Städte in Böhmen und die Städtepolitik der Přemysliden* (Prag, Calve, 1914, pp. v, 233); and P. Kluckhuhn, *Wenzels Jugendjahre bis zum Antritt seiner Regierung, 1378, im Rahmen der Politik seines Vaters Kaiser Karls IV.* (Halle, 1914, pp. 157).

Professor J. Hirn has published the first volume of *Erzherzog Maximilian, der Deutschmeister, Regent von Tirol* (Innsbruck, Vereinsbuchhandlung, 1915).

The third volume of *Zwingliana* is O. Farner, *Zwinglis Entwicklung zum Reformator nach seinem Briefwechsel bis Ende 1522* (Zürich, Zürcher und Furrer, 1913-1915, review by A. Baur, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, December 4).

Les Cantons Suisses et Genève, 1477-1815 (Geneva, Jullien, 1915, pp. xxxi, 219), edited by V. van Berchem, contains among other articles, W. Oechsli, "Les Alliances de Genève avec les Cantons Suisses"; L. Gautier, "Les Efforts des Genevois pour être admis dans l'Alliance Générale des Liges, 1548-1550"; E. Demolle, "Les Médailles rappelants les Anciennes Relations de Genève et les Cantons Suisses, 1584-1815"; and C. Borgeaud, "La Chute, la Restauration de la République de Genève, et son Entrée dans la Confédération Suisse, 1798-1815". The volume is the fourth in the series of *Mémoires et Documents* published by the Society of History and Archaeology of Geneva.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Joetze, *Die Ministerialität im Hochstifte Bamberg* (*Historisches Jahrbuch*, XXXVI. 3); G. Buchwald, *Die Leipziger Universitätspredigt in den Ersten Jahrzehnten des Bestehens der Universität* (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XXXVI. 1); O. Hintze, *Das Werk der Hohenzollern: eine Jubiläumsbetrachtung* (*Deutsche Rundschau*, October); J. Buzek, *Die Organisation der Verwaltung und die Verwaltungsreformbewegung in Preussen* (*Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft, Sozialpolitik, und Verwaltung*, XXIV. 1); F. Rachfahl, *Der Ursprung der Monarchischen Behördenorganisation Deutschlands in der Neuzeit* (*Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, October); E. Müsebeck, *Das Verhalten der Preussischen Regierung im Fichteschen Atheismusstreit* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXV. 2); E. Daudet, *Les Dernières Années de la Dictature de Bismarck, Notes et Souvenirs, 1887-1890, I.-IV.* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, September 1, October 15, November 15, December 15); A. Guillard, *Karl Lamprecht* (*Revue Historique*, January); Max Lenz, *Der Weltkrieg im Spiegel Bismarckischer Gedanken* (*Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte*, September); G. Schmoller, *Der Weltkrieg und die Deutsche Sozialdemokratie* (*Schmollers Jahrbuch*, XXXIX. 3); V. H. F., *La Presse Allemande pendant la Première Année de Guerre* (*Revue des Sciences Politiques*, October, December); E. Troeltsch, *Die Deutsche Sozialdemokratie* (*Schmollers Jahrbuch*, XXXIX. 3); V. H. F., *La Philosophie et la Littérature Classiques de l'Allemagne et les Doctrines Pangermanistes, I.* (*Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*, November, 1914); R. Charmatz, *Radetzky* (*Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte*, November); H. Bahr, *Böhmen* (*Neue Rundschau*, January).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

General review: F. Fromme, *Neue Deutsche Schriften über Belgien* (*Deutsche Rundschau*, October).

S. A. Waller Zeper has furnished a thorough account of *Jan van Henegouwen, Heer van Beaumont, Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden in de 1^e Helft der 14^e Eeuw* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1915, pp. 541).

Dr. F. C. Wieder, after two months of very fruitful investigation in Spanish archives and libraries, has prepared a volume of 348 pages, *Nederlandsche Historisch-Geographische Documenten in Spanje*, which has been published by the Royal Dutch Geographical Society of Amsterdam (Leiden, Brill). After an introductory account of his expedition and of the history of old Dutch cartography, Dr. Wieder gives copious data respecting a large variety of maps and some archival documents, relating to the Netherlands and their East Indian and American possessions. Parts of the report will be of use to students of American history.

The Oxford University Press has published, in a small illustrated volume, *Louvain: 891-1914*, a history of the famous and unfortunate university, by Dr. L. Noël, a professor in the philosophical faculty.

In *Histoire Belge du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg* (Paris, Perrin, 1915, pp. 82, review by A. Chuquet, *Revue Critique*, November 6), Pierre Nothomb has given an excellent sketch of the history of Luxembourg mainly since 1815, in which he argues the Belgian affinity of the little state.

In addition to the official publication, *L'Action de l'Armée Belge pour la Défense du Pays et le Respect de sa Neutralité, Rapport du Commandement de l'Armée, Période du 31 Juillet au 31 Décembre 1914* (Paris, Chapelot, 1915), the following are important volumes on the war in Belgium: Maurice des Ombiaux, *La Résistance de la Belgique Envahie* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1915); Henri Malo, *Le Drame des Flandres: un An de Guerre, 1^{er} Août 1914-1^{er} Août 1915* (Paris, Perrin, 1915); H. E. Jacob, *Reise durch den Belgischen Krieg* (Berlin, Reiss, 1915); and *Die Flüchtlinge* (Jena, Fischer, 1915), a description of the Antwerp campaign, by Norbert Jacques, a Luxemburger of German sympathies who is correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. The little volume *Charleroi* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1915), by the London *Times* correspondent, Fleury-Lamure, has proved one of the best sellers.

C. H. Huberich and A. Nicol-Speyer have issued two parts of *Deutsche Gesetzgebung für die Okkupierten Gebiete Belgiens* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1915, pp. 108, 165); and O. Kessler has compiled *Das Deutsche Belgien, Beiträge zur Geschichte, Volkswirtschaft, und zur Deutschen Verwaltung* (Berlin, Siegmund, 1915, pp. viii, 159).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. van Ouwerkerk, *Die Internationale Bedeutung der Flämischen Bewegung* (Neue Rundschau, October); F. Schotthöfer, *Das besetzte Belgien* (*ibid.*, September).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

The period 1310-1544 is embraced in the first part of the eleventh volume of the *Diplomatarium Islandicum* (Reykjavik, Félagsprentsmdju, 1915, pp. 368).

A. Krarup and J. Lindbaek have completed the publication of the *Acta Pontificum Danica, Pavelige Aktstykker vedrorende Danmark, 1316-1536* (Copenhagen, Gad, 1915, pp. viii, 615) with a sixth volume for the years 1513 to 1536.

The publication of *Sveriges Traktater med Främmande Magter* has been extended through the years 1723-1739 (vol. VIII., 1, Stockholm, Norstedt, 1915), under the editorship of B. Boëthius.

Kong Christian Frederiks Dagbok fra hans Ophold i Norge, 1814 (Christiania, Grondahl, 1915, pp. 269) has been edited from the French original by A. Olafsen, with a translation into Norwegian by J. Raabe.

F. Lagerroth, *Frihetstidens Författning* (Stockholm, Bonnier, 1915, pp. xvi, 635), is a study in Swedish constitutional history.

Professor Harald Hjärne of Upsala has written *Osteuropas Kriser och Sveriges Försvar, Politiska Utkast, 1880-1914* (Upsala, Askerberg, 1915, pp. viii, 328). Another Swedish view of the European situation by A. Nyström has been translated into English under the title *Before, During, and After 1914* (London, Heinemann, 1915, pp. xvi, 368). F. Stieve has edited and translated a volume of *Schwedische Stimmen zum Weltkrieg* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1916, pp. 203).

The Russian government is bringing out, under the supervision of the Hydrographic Department of the Navy, a Russian translation of Professor Frank A. Golder's *Russian Expansion on the Pacific*, to be issued this spring. A large atlas, containing a number of original maps never heretofore printed, will accompany the text.

Antoni Potocki is the editor of *La Revue de Pologne* (Paris, 12 Rue de l'Université; foreign subscription, 6 francs), which completed its first volume in 1915. The review has now undertaken a *Bibliothèque de la Question Polonaise*, composed of monographs of which the first is an *Histoire de la Pologne* by H. Grappin.

A new volume in the *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte* of Heeren and Ukert begins a *Neuere Geschichte Polens* (Gotha, Perthes, 1915) by E. Zivier. It covers the reigns of the last two Jagellon kings. A. D'Ancona, *Scipione Piattoli e la Polonia* (Florence, Barbèra, 1915, pp. ix, 368) throws much light on the reign of the last Polish king, Stanislas Poniatowski.

Mr. Herbert A. Gibbons is the author of *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire: a History of the Osmanlis up to the Death of Bayezid I.* (1300-1403), which is published by the Clarendon Press.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. F. Reddaway, *King Christian VII.* (English Historical Review, January); K. Leuthner, *Russischer Volksimperialismus* (Neue Rundschau, April, August); A. Brückner, *Die Leitenden Ideen der Polnischen Politik in den Jahren 1795-1863* (Zeitschrift für Politik, VIII. 3); B. Lauer, *Zum Polnisch-Jüdischen Problem, vom Standpunkt eines Polnischen Juden* (Preussische Jahrbücher, November); Kémal Hilmy, *Les Capitulations Ottomanes* (Revue Politique Internationale, November); P. Lebesgue, *L'Unité Serbo-Croate et le Principe des Nationalités: l'Oeuvre de Vouk Stephanovitch Karadjitch [1787-1864]* (Mercure de France, February 1); Contre-Amiral Degouy, *La Marine dans la Campagne des Balkans* (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 15); Yves Guyot, *La Question Bulgare* (Journal des Économistes, December 15); J. A. R. Marriott, *The Hellenic Factor in the Problem of the Near East* (Edinburgh Review, January); A. Mavroudis, *Eleutherios Venizelos: ses Origines, son Oeuvre* (Mercure de France, December 1).

THE FAR EAST

Father Rochemonteix has recited with pious detail the account of *Joseph Amiot et les Derniers Survivants de la Mission Française à Peking, 1750-1795* (Paris, Picard, 1915, pp. lxiii, 564).

Mr. Lionel B. Cholmondeley of St. Andrew's Mission, Tokio, illustrates an odd chapter in the history of the Pacific and of American adventure therein by *The History of the Bonin Islands from 1827 to 1876, and of Nathaniel Savory* (London, Constable, 1915, pp. 190). Savory was a citizen of the United States who lived on the main island almost from the time of its discovery till his death in 1874. A selection of his correspondence is included.

G. Demorgny, professor in the School of Political Sciences at Teheran, is the author of *La Question Persane et la Guerre: les Accords Anglo-Russo-Persans de 1907 et 1912, l'Influence Française et l'Effort Allemand en Perse* (Paris, Perrin, 1916).

In *La Syrie de Demain* (Paris, Plon, 1916), Nadra Moutran has described the political condition and significance of Syria and explained French interests in Syria as a sphere of influence. The recent periodical literature on the question is cited by N. Y. Bitar in an article *La Vraie Syrie Française* in the *Mercure de France* of January 16, 1916.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Prehn-von Dewitz, *Yuan Schi Kai* (Deutsche Rundschau, January); J. O. P. Bland, *The Restoration of Monarchy in China* (Edinburgh Review, January); Scié-Ton-Fa, *La Chine et le Japon: la Thèse Chinoise* (Revue Politique Internationale, September).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Carnegie Institution of Washington expects to publish before the end of the present month Professor Faust's *Guide to Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives*. Professor Hill's volume on the "Papeles procedentes de Cuba" in the Archives of the Indies at Seville is expected to appear during the summer.

The *Report* of the Librarian of Congress for 1915 describes large additions to the Library's Chinese collection, including more than 2000 volumes on history and epigraphy; a body of about a thousand books and periodicals relating to the social revolutionary movements in Europe since the beginning of the nineteenth century, collected by Dr. Vladimir G. Simkhovitch; in the Division of Manuscripts, the papers of Edward L. Plumb; a deposit of papers of George Mason; the Jones papers, a large collection of family papers, Virginian and Kentuckian, ranging from 1694 to 1861, and useful to economic history; and the diaries of Edmund Ruffin and Benjamin Moran. The Library has completed for the present its invaluable series of transcripts from British archives, numbering about 175,000 folios, and is proceeding with similar copying in Paris and Seville. It expects before long to issue a *Guide to the Law and Legal Literature of Latin America*, by Mr. Edwin M. Borchard, law librarian, and a descriptive list of maps of California and views of San Francisco, by Mr. P. Lee Phillips, chief of the Map Division. The Document Division has expanded into a very important collection its series of the official gazettes of foreign governments.

More recent accessions of the manuscripts division of the Library of Congress include: contemporary official copies of correspondence between the British and Spanish authorities relating to the colonies in America and the West Indies, 1722-1733 (6 vols.); a body of notes on native languages, bibliographical lists, and cartography of South America, with sundry maps (additions to the Schuller collection); letter-books, order-books, despatch-books, etc., of General P. G. T. Beauregard, 1844-1883 (51 vols.); a body of papers of Robert Carter Nicholas relating to the settlement of the estate of Lord Botetourt; orderly books kept by adjutants Torrey and Bailey of the second Massachusetts regiment, 1777-1783 (24 vols.); and a body of papers (1791-1808) of Thomas Tudor Tucker of South Carolina.

An account of the Uniforms of the American Army, by Col. Asa Bird Gardiner, U. S. A., in the August-September number of the *Magazine of History*, is reprinted from scattering volumes of the *Magazine of American History*. Among the documents are: a letter from La Jonquière, governor of French Canada, to Sir William Pepperrell, March 7, 1751; a letter of Dr. John Hart, October 4, 1780, relative to the execution of Major André (reprinted from the *New Eng-*

land *Historical and Genealogical Register*, July, 1915); a letter of John Adams to Dr. Tufts of Boston, March 29, 1776, relative to the fortification of Boston harbor; and two letters from John Paul Jones to Count Bernstorff, the Danish prime minister, March 24 and March 30, 1788. The October number prints some letters of 1866 and 1867, regarding purchase of the Danish West Indies, from the papers of the late Senator J. R. Doolittle of Wisconsin.

The December number of *Americana* contains, among other continuations, the fourth of A. W. H. Eaton's Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia, this being a chapter on Sir John Wentworth and the Duke of Kent.

The January number of the *Catholic Historical Review* includes a valuable Chronology of the Catholic Hierarchy in the United States, by Right Rev. Dr. O. B. Corrigan; the Preservation of Ecclesiastical Documents, by Mr. John C. Fitzpatrick of the manuscripts division of the Library of Congress; the Right Rev. Richard Luke Concanen, O. P., the First Bishop of New York (1747-1810), by V. F. O'Daniel, O. P.; the Rise of National Catholic Churches in the United States, by Dr. N. A. Weber, S. M.; and Archbishop Maréchal's account of the diocese of Baltimore sent to the Propaganda October 16, 1818. Excellent suggestions as to further work in American Catholic history abound in the editorial portions of the journal.

The contents of the December number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* include a biographical account of Don Agustín de Iturbide, liberator and emperor of Mexico, by Agustín de Iturbide; an Epistle or Diary of the Reverend Father Marie Joseph Durand, relating to the mission which he founded in Louisiana and the country of Illinois since 1805 (written in 1823), translated from the French by Ella M. E. Flick; and an anniversary historical address delivered by the Rev. Dr. Morgan M. Sheedy at St. Mary's Church, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Sunday, March 26, 1911.

Houghton Mifflin Company has just published *The Federal Executive*, by John Philip Hill. The book treats comprehensively the creation, development, organization, and functions of the federal executive.

American Civilization and the Negro: the Afro-American in Relation to National Progress, by C. V. Roman, is from the press of F. A. Davis Company, Philadelphia.

A study of *Los Vascos en América* (Buenos Aires, Lib. La Facultad, 1915, pp. 205) has been done by F. Ortiz y San Pelayo.

The *American Year Book* for 1915 (Appleton, pp. xviii, 862), has just appeared.

The Department of Economics and Sociology of the Carnegie Institution of Washington has published, in two volumes (Washington, pp. xv, 363, ix, 398), a *History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of*

the United States, by Professor Emory R. Johnson, T. W. Van Metre, G. G. Huebner, and D. S. Hanchett. In respect to foreign commerce, the dividing date of the two volumes is 1789.

The Century Company announce for early publication *The Foreign Relations of the United States*, by Professor Willis F. Johnson.

The United States Navy from the Revolution to Date, by F. J. Reynolds, with an introduction by Rear-Admiral Austin M. Knight, comes from the press of P. F. Collier and Sons.

Quaint and Historic Forts of North America, by J. M. Hammond, gathers together information concerning forts widely scattered both in place and time on the American continent (Lippincott).

It is announced that G. P. Putnam's Sons will presently bring out *American Debate: a Critical History of Political Controversy in the United States, with Digests of Notable Debates*, in two volumes, by M. M. Miller.

A new and revised edition of Mr. Louis C. Elson's *History of American Music* has been published (Macmillan).

The American Baptist Historical Society (Philadelphia) has completed the arranging of more than 25,000 minutes of Baptist state conventions and district associations.

The Boycott in American Trade Unions (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series XXXIV., no. 1, pp. 148), by Dr. Leo Wolman, contains a chapter on the history of the boycott, as well as discussions of its nature, mechanism, and applications, and of the relation of the boycott to the law.

The Torch Press has brought out a reprint of the *Proceedings of the Librarians' Convention held in New York City, September 15, 16, 17, 1853*.

The February *Bulletin* of the Minnesota Historical Society has an article by General William G. Le Duc on the Genesis of the Type-writer, and especially on his part in its invention.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Richard Biddle's *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, published in 1831, has been reproduced, with a little explanatory matter (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1915, pp. xiv, v, 327).

The volume of *Travels in the American Colonies* edited by Dr. N. D. Mereness, which has been prepared under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, will be published by the Macmillan Company this month, in a style uniform with the Pitt, Lee, and Shirley volumes previously issued by the society. It will contain some eighteen journals of travel, ranging from Cuthbert Potter's narra-

tive of a journey from Virginia to New England in 1690 to Colonel William Fleming's journals of travels in Kentucky in 1779-1780 and 1783. Among them are narratives of travels among the southern Indians and up and down the Mississippi River, by both French and English officers, narratives of the travels of Moravian pioneers and bishops, and the journal of an anonymous officer's travels through America in 1764-1765, which proves to be by Lord Adam Gordon. Almost all are narratives of which no part has hitherto been published.

French Memories of Eighteenth-Century America (1775-1800), by Charles H. Sherrill, is a picture of life in America during the last quarter of the eighteenth century as drawn from the memoirs and other observations of distinguished French men and women who visited this country during the period (Scribner).

The Houghton Mifflin Company will publish shortly the memorandum written by William Rotch in the eightieth year of his age, giving an account of his effort at the outbreak of the Revolution to keep the island of Nantucket neutral and also an account of a subsequent journey to England and France on a quasi-diplomatic mission.

Scipio's Reflections on Monroe's View of the Conduct of the Executive, etc. (Boston, 1798), is reprinted as the *Magazine of History*, extra no. 38 (Tarrytown, Abbatt).

Hon. DeAlva S. Alexander, who for fourteen years was a member of the House of Representatives, and whose *Political History of the State of New York* is well known, is about to publish a volume on the *History and Procedure of the House of Representatives* (Houghton Mifflin).

Professor John S. Bassett's standard *Life of Andrew Jackson* has been brought out by the Macmillan Company in a new edition, in one volume (pp. xvi, 766) with the same pagination as that of the original edition of two volumes. Slight amendments have been made here and there in the text. It will be an embarrassment to some readers that the "front matter" of volume II. has not been consolidated with that of volume I.

Messrs. Putnam have published in two volumes the *Letters of Washington Irving to Henry Brevoort*, edited, with an introduction, by Mr. George S. Hellman, embracing a considerable number of epistles not printed in Irving's *Life and Letters*.

The address of Hon. Armistead C. Gordon, *John Tyler, Tenth President of the United States*, delivered at the dedication, October 12, 1915, of the monument erected by Congress in Hollywood cemetery, Richmond, Virginia, in memory of President Tyler, has been privately printed (pp. 44). Mr. Gordon vigorously defends Tyler's course as president.

Houghton Mifflin Company announces for publication in April *Abraham Lincoln: Lawyer-Statesman*, by John T. Richards. It is understood that Mr. Richards has searched extensively the records of courts in which Lincoln practised and has brought forth a large amount of new and valuable material concerning his life as a lawyer.

Houghton Mifflin Company announces for publication in April a new volume of *Union Portraits*, by Gamaliel Bradford, which will include studies of McClellan, Hooker, Meade, Thomas, Sherman, Stanton, Seward, Sumner, and Samuel Bowles.

The second number of the *Smith College Studies in History* embodies four chapters of a study, by Laura Josephine Webster, of the *Operations of the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina* (pp. 67-118). The first chapter is devoted to the "Preliminaries", tentative measures undertaken from 1861 to the passage of the Freedmen's Bureau Act in March, 1865; the second to legislation and organization; the third to distribution and restoration of land; and the fourth to labor, justice, and marriage relations.

Blaine, Conkling, and Garfield: a Reminiscence and a Character Study (pp. 36), by Johnson Brigham, has been privately printed in Des Moines.

Houghton Mifflin Company has published *Charles Francis Adams: an Autobiography*, with a memorial address by Senator Lodge.

Professor John W. Burgess of Columbia University has just issued (New York, Scribner) a volume on the *Administration of President Hayes*.

Houghton Mifflin Company will publish within a few days *The Life of William McKinley*, by Charles S. Olcott. The biographer has had at his disposal the materials in the possession of George B. Cortelyou, the President's secretary, Justice William R. Day, the secretary of state during the Spanish War, and Charles G. Dawes, comptroller of the currency, including not only confidential and personal letters but also the personal diaries of Mr. Cortelyou and Mr. Dawes.

Theodore Roosevelt: the Logic of his Career, by Charles G. Washburn, a close personal friend, has recently been published by Houghton Mifflin Company.

It is understood that an authorized biography of Major-General William R. Shafter, who was in command of the expedition against Santiago, is being prepared by Charles A. Weissert, a member of the Michigan house of representatives.

Reminiscences of the Spanish-American War in Cuba and the Philippines, by Charles F. Gauvreau, a private in Company G, 21st Infantry, is put forth by the Authors Publishing Company, Rouses Point, New York.

The Life of W J McGee [1853-1912] with *Extracts from Addresses and Writings* (pp. 240), by his sister, Miss Emma R. McGee, has been privately printed in Farley, Iowa. Although he was christened William John, in accordance with his own usage his name appears throughout this book as W J, without periods. Beginning with private surveys in Iowa, from 1883 to 1893 he was attached to the United States Geological Survey, for the next ten years to the Bureau of American Ethnology, while from 1903 to 1907 he was first in charge of the department of anthropology of the St. Louis Exposition and afterward director of the St. Louis Public Museum. From 1907 until his death he was vice-chairman and secretary of the Inland Waterways Commission. The bibliography of his articles and monographs comprises some 110 titles. Extracts from his writings occupy something more than two-thirds of the volume. The biographical record is meagre.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

Probate Records of the Province of New Hampshire, vol. III. (1741-1749), edited by H. H. Metcalf, assisted by O. G. Hammond, has been issued by the state.

A History of Waterbury, Vermont, 1763-1915, compiled and edited by T. G. Lewis, has been brought out in Waterbury by Harry C. Whitehill.

The report for 1915 of Mr. Henry E. Woods as commissioner of public records in Massachusetts mentions the printing during the year of the vital records, to 1850, of the towns of Amesbury, Cambridge (vol. I.), Chelmsford, Heath, Rochester (vols. I. and II.), and Tyngsborough.

To the November serial of the Massachusetts Historical Society Mr. Samuel E. Morison contributes some notes and documents on Victor Du Pont, Talleyrand, and the French Spoliations. The serial contains also a number of interesting letters: one from Joseph Hawley to the senate of Massachusetts (October 28, 1780), four from Rufus King (1784-1786), one from C. Savage to his father (January 23, 1809), relating to the embargo, and one from Earl Granville to Sir Cecil Spring Rice (1887), touching the attitude of the British cabinet in 1862 toward recognizing the Southern Confederacy. The noteworthy item in the December issue is a series of letters of unusual interest from Goldwin Smith to Charles Eliot Norton, 1863-1872 (pp. 106-160). Another paper of interest is the *Experiences of an Irish Immigrant, 1681*, contributed by Mr. C. P. Greenough.

Volumes XV. and XVI. of the *Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, which may appear before the close of 1916, will contain the records of the corporation of Harvard College from the beginning to 1750, replete with interesting material. Volume XVII., a volume of proceedings, is already published.

Old Marblehead Sea Captains and the Ships in which they Sailed, compiled by Benjamin J. Lindsey for the Marblehead Historical Society, is a valuable contribution to the history of the American merchant marine. The book makes some record of 600 vessels owned in Marblehead or commanded by Marblehead captains, gives short biographies of many of these sea-captains, and contains reproductions of documents and numerous illustrations.

A History of the Town of Princeton, in the County of Worcester and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1759-1915, in two volumes, by F. E. Blake, is published by the town.

Mr. Howard M. Chapin, librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, has prepared a *Documentary History of Rhode Island*, comprising the history of the towns of Providence and Warwick to the year 1649 and the history of the colony to the year 1647. The book is illustrated with documents, maps, views, etc. (Providence, Preston and Rounds Company). Mr. Chapin's studies of Rhode Island maps, previously mentioned in these pages, have been assembled by him in a small pamphlet entitled *Cartography of Rhode Island*.

The New York Genealogical and Biographical Society has taken up the work of copying old church records of New York state. Four copies are made: one is placed in the Library of Congress, one in the New York State Library, one in that of the New York Historical Society, and one in the society's own library.

In an address delivered before the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New York and published by that society, Professor Charles W. Spencer of Princeton University discusses the relations between *Colonial Wars and Constitutional Development in New York*.

Out of a fund contributed by Mrs. Louis Pennington and others, the New Jersey Historical Society has purchased some 200 volumes, 500 pamphlets, and 1000 manuscripts from the collection of the late William Nelson.

The Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society of Vineland, New Jersey, has inaugurated the publication of a quarterly bearing the title *The Vineland Historical Magazine*. The first number (January, 1916) contains an installment of a journal kept by Charles K. Landis, the promoter of Vineland, an account of the Early Settlers of Vineland, West of Malaga Road, by Mrs. Mary E. Schley (to be continued), and Owners and Residents of the Vineland Tract before its Settlement in 1861, by Marcus Fry.

Thirty sacks of early petitions found in the Pennsylvania State Library were saved from destruction recently only in consequence of a general order of the superintendent of public grounds and buildings that all papers should be submitted to the state librarian before being discarded.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has acquired recently 61 Macpherson manuscripts, relating to the Fries rebellion, 1799; 26 Wistar manuscripts, 1741-1793; and 264 additions to the Gratz papers.

The October number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* includes, besides continued articles, James Morrell's Account of a Trip to Ballston and Saratoga Springs in August, 1813; a Missionary's Tour to Shamokin and the West Branch of the Susquehanna, 1753 (the journal of Rev. Bernard A. Grube); some correspondence between Caesar A. Rodney and Thomas McKean, 1813 and 1814, relative to Caesar Rodney's ride, July, 1776, to vote on the resolution for independence; early documents of the Library Company of Philadelphia, 1733-1734; excerpts from the waste books of the Sun Inn at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1760-1799; a letter of Dr. Thomas Graeme to Thomas Penn, 1750; and "Four Gossipy Letters" (two from Charles Norris to James Wright, 1753; one from John Cox to Hannah Pemberton, 1781; and one from Hannah Pemberton to Sally Pemberton, 1782).

The Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society for the year 1915 (vol. XIV.), edited by Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, M.A., corresponding secretary and librarian (Wilkes-Barré, Pennsylvania, the Society, 1915, pp. 287), includes for its principal content the Reminiscences of Charles Miner (1780-1865), newspaper editor at Wilkes-Barré, at Philadelphia, and at West Chester, and from 1825 to 1829 member of Congress from Pennsylvania. In 1845 he published a *History of Wyoming*. These reminiscences, edited by Dr. C. F. Richardson, include, besides many extracts from his own writings, letters and extracts from letters of Nicholas Biddle, James Buchanan, Henry Clay, John Marshall, John Quincy Adams, Richard Rush, Daniel Webster, Edward Everett, William H. Seward, and Gideon Welles. The volume contains also a brief paper by Thomas L. Montgomery, state librarian of Pennsylvania, on the Development of Interest in Historical Societies, a continuation of the Parish Register of St. Stephen's Protestant Episcopal Church, Wilkes-Barré, and a register of marriages, 1822-1866.

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* for January contains the Journal of the Committee of Observation of the Middle District of Frederick County, Maryland, September 12, 1775, to October 24, 1776; additional Carroll papers (1760-1761), a continuation of Uria Brown's Journal, and a brief paper, by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, relative to some Disturbances concerning the Delaware Boundary in June, 1774.

The Virginia State Library has recently obtained a body of some 200 letters and papers relating in the main to the services of Virginia soldiers in the War of 1812 and a number of muster-rolls of that war. Those who may have seen newspaper statements reporting a disastrous fire in this library on February 21 will be glad to know that, though a small fire broke out, no damage was done to anything of value.

Three numbers of the library's *Bulletin* are combined in the printing of *A Bibliography of Virginia* (pp. 31-767) by Earl G. Swem, assistant librarian, a book invaluable to the historical student, embracing some 7000 titles of books in the library relating to Virginia and Virginians or written by Virginians or printed in Virginia, but exclusive of official publications, of which a bibliography may be printed later.

The *Virginia Magazine of History* prints in the January number an installment of the Report of the Journey of Franz Ludwig Michel from Bern, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701, to December 1, 1702, translated and edited by Professor William J. Hinke. The story of the voyage and of things seen and heard in Virginia is of more than ordinary interest. The manuscript of this journey, together with other Michel documents, is in the Bern Library. In the series of papers by David I. Bushnell, jr., concerning the Virginia Frontier in History, the paper in this number treats of events leading to the treaty of Fort Pitt. Of the continued series, the Minutes of the Council and General Court are of the years 1622-1629, and the Council Papers of the years 1698-1701.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* prints in the January number some letters of Major Thomas Rowland, C. S. A., from the camp at Ashland and Richmond, Virginia, 1861, and also some letters of James Rumsey, inventor of the steamboat. Other letters of Major Rowland, when he was a cadet at West Point (1859-1861), appeared in recent numbers of the *South Atlantic Quarterly*. Washington and the French, 1753-1754, is a contribution by David I. Bushnell, jr.

The *John P. Branch Historical Papers* of Randolph-Macon College, vol. IV., no. 3 (June, 1915), contains a biographical sketch of Col. William Preston of Virginia (1729-1783), by R. B. Marston, and a body of Preston Papers (1774-1783), chiefly Preston's correspondence relative to Virginia defenses and other military matters.

Mr. W. G. Stanard has brought out a second, enlarged edition of *Some Emigrants to Virginia*, published in 1911 (Richmond, Bell).

The North Carolina Division of the United Confederate Veterans has raised a fund of \$25,000 to be expended under the direction of the North Carolina Historical Commission in the preparation of a history of North Carolina in the Civil War. The commission hopes to be permitted to entrust the work to President Daniel H. Hill.

The *Proceedings* of the sixteenth annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, November 8 and 9, 1915 (*Publications* of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Bulletin no. 20), includes a number of historical papers and addresses. These are: Social and Economic Legislation in North Carolina during the Civil War, by Professor E. W. Sikes; Union Sentiment in North Carolina during the Civil War, by Mary Shannon Smith; the Southern

Policy of Andrew Johnson, by Professor J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton; and Thomas Jordan Jarvis and the Rebuilding of North Carolina, by Judge Henry G. Connor.

The Town Builders (Winston-Salem, N. C., 1915, pp. 19), by Miss Adelaide L. Fries, archivist of the Moravian Church for the Southern Department, is an account of the foundation and earliest days of Salem (1766), and of the brethren concerned in its first establishment.

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* is printing, from the originals in the possession of Arthur M. Rutledge, of Louisville, Kentucky, a series of letters to General Greene and others. The letters which appear in the July issue of the *Magazine* are from Gen. Thomas Sumter, Baron Steuben, Gen. Andrew Pickens, Col. Isaac Shelby, Lieut.-Col. William Washington, Governor John Rutledge, Gen. Francis Marion, and Col. William Harding. All of these are to General Greene and all are of the year 1781. In the letter of Col. Isaac Shelby "Wattango" should of course be "Wattauga". The other articles in this number are continuations.

To collect, preserve, and publish historical data and documents relating to the old Baton Rouge parishes, the Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge was formed on March 11. Gen. John McGrath was chosen president, Professor M. L. Bonham, secretary and treasurer.

The December number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains a valuable article by Professor St. George L. Sioussat on Tennessee, the Compromise of 1850, and the Nashville Convention; one by Mr. William E. Dunn on the Spanish Reaction against the French Advance toward New Mexico, 1717-1727; and a comprehensive survey of historical activities in the Trans-Mississippi Northwest, by Mr. Dan E. Clark. The documents printed are papers of Henry Dearborn, of 1812 and 1813. In the March number, Professor Wilbur H. Siebert has an article on the Loyalists in West Florida and the Natchez District; Mr. H. N. Sherwood recounts Early Negro Deportation Projects; Dr. Asa E. Martin gives a history of the Pioneer Anti-Slavery Press; and Professor Walter L. Fleming surveys Recent Historical Activities in the Trans-Mississippi Southwest.

The October number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* contains a record of the thirteenth annual meeting of the society in May, together with sundry reports; some comment, by Gen. Robert P. Kennedy, on Hull's Trace or Trail, the rough passageway cut through the timber from Ohio to the Canadian border for the passage of General Hull's army; and an account of the bequests to the society and the city of Columbus by Col. and Mrs. Webb C. Hayes. The articles in the January number all pertain to educational history. They are: the Higher Education of Women in the Ohio Valley previous to 1840, by Jane Sherzer; European Influence on Early Western Education,

by Willis L. Gard; Pioneer Schools and School Masters, by D. C. Shilling; the Rise of the Denominational College, by Russell M. Storey; Land Grants for Education in the Ohio Valley States, by Clement L. Martzloff; Samuel Lewis, Progressive Educator in the Early History of Ohio, by Alston Ellis; Colonel Dick Johnson's Choctaw Academy, a Forgotten Educational Experiment, by Shelley D. Rouse; and Secondary Education in Ohio previous to the Year 1840, by W. W. Boyd.

The Indiana Historical Commission is planning for the issue of two volumes embracing the messages of the governors of Indiana from territorial times to 1851, under the general editorship of Professor S. B. Harding; of a volume on early travels in Indiana, edited by Professor Harlow Lindley; and a volume on the history of constitution-making in the state by Charles B. Kettleborough. It is hoped that these volumes can be produced before the close of 1916, in commemoration of the centennial of the state's admission into the Union.

The December number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains some Reminiscences of the Burning of Columbia, South Carolina, by M. C. Garber, jr.; an account of the election of 1852 in Indiana, by Dale Beeler; a paper by Ellmore Barce on Governor Harrison and the Treaty of Fort Wayne, 1809; one by Professor James A. Woodburn concerning the Indiana Historical Commission and Plans for the Centennial; and the journal of George W. Julian, January 3 to April 27, 1865, wherein are found expressions of the radical hostility toward Lincoln, even the view that "the universal feeling among radical men here is that his death is a godsend".

Volume XI. of the *Illinois Historical Collections*, bearing the subtitle "British Series, Vol. 2, The New Régime, 1765-1767", and containing much interesting material bearing upon the colonial situation in general as well as upon the Illinois country in particular, is expected to be brought out shortly before the issue of these present pages.

In the July number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* appears an address, by President John W. Cook of the Northern Illinois State Normal School, on the Life and Labors of Hon. Adlai Ewing Stevenson. Mr. Henry B. Rankin, author of a forthcoming volume of *Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln*, offers some Notes and Corrections upon Leonard W. Volk's article in the *Century Magazine* for December, 1881, "The Lincoln Life-Mask and how it was made" (which is reprinted in this number of the *Journal*). From the pen of the same writer is "The First American: Abraham Lincoln", an appeal to the citizens of Illinois to mark the important sites connected with Lincoln's life in Illinois. Mr. Charles A. Kent contributes a paper on the Northwest Territory, and Mr. Herbert S. Salisbury some notes on the Mormon War in Hancock County.

The Chicago Historical Society has recently purchased a collection of

some 3000 papers originally belonging to the Law family of Green Bay, Wis., and relating to the fur-trade in the Northwest.

Mr. Howard G. Brownson's *History of the Illinois Central Railroad to 1870*, in its record of twenty years, covers the early development of the charter lines and makes a large contribution to the economic history of Illinois in those years by its data respecting land-grants, traffic, and finances.

The December issue of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* contains three articles and two groups of documents. Dr. Asa E. Martin presents a study of the Anti-Slavery Societies of Tennessee, which date back to 1814, if not earlier. Mr. Albert V. Goodpasture writes an appreciative biographical sketch of Dr. James White, Pioneer, Politician, Lawyer, grandfather of Chief Justice White of the United States Supreme Court. Mr. Goodpasture points out in particular the confusion as exemplified especially in the *Biographical Congressional Directory* of Dr. James White with Col. James White, the founder of Knoxville and the father of Hugh Lawson White. Mr. Wallace McClure makes a study of the Development of the Tennessee Constitution through its three stages, 1776, 1834, and 1870, and calls attention to the need of further adjustment of the constitution to present conditions. Of the documents, which are edited by Professor W. O. Scroggs, both groups relate to William Walker the filibuster. Of more than ordinary interest are the Reminiscences of Elleanor (Callaghan) Ratterman, who went to Nicaragua as an emigrant about the time of Walker's election to the presidency and was a witness to most of his operations from that time. The other group comprises papers of Major John P. Heiss, who for a time acted as chargé d'affaires for Nicaragua in Washington. The March number of the same journal has useful articles on the Public School System of Tennessee, 1834-1860, by Mr. A. P. Whitaker, and on the Topographical Beginnings of Nashville, by Mr. Park Marshall, followed by diaries, 1840, 1843, of Samuel H. Laughlin, prominent as an editor and politician in Tennessee in the period of Jackson and Polk.

The Michigan Historical Commission has in preparation for publication a large volume on the economic and social beginnings of Michigan by Dr. George N. Fuller; one on the Michigan fur-trade by Dr. Ida A. Johnson; one on the historical geography of Detroit by Dr. Almond E. Perkins; and biographies of Governor Stevens T. Mason by Lawton T. Hemans and of Zachariah Chandler by Dr. Wilmer C. Harris.

The pages of the *Minnesota History Bulletin*, vol. I., no. 4 (November), are chiefly occupied with a biographical sketch, by Theodore C. Blegen, of James W. Taylor (1819-1893), of the acquisition of whose papers mention was made in our October number.

In the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* is an extended paper by Ruth A. Gallaher, on the Indian Agent in the

United States before 1850, the first of a series of four papers which will appear in the *Journal*, dealing with one phase of the administration of Indian affairs in the United States with special reference to Iowa. A history of the Removal of the Capital from Iowa City to Des Moines is contributed by John E. Briggs. An account of the Captivity of a Party of Frenchmen among Indians in the Iowa Country, 1728-1729, is a translation of Pierre Boucher's narrative, reprinted from the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, vol. XVII., with notes by Jacob Van der Zee.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has now brought out vols. III. and IV. of Dr. Clarence R. Aurner's *History of Education in Iowa* and has nearly ready for distribution Dr. Fred E. Haynes's *Third Party Movements since the Civil War, with special Reference to Iowa*.

In the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for January two of the articles relate to the Confederacy, namely, a second installment of L. R. Garrison's investigations of the Administrative Problems of the Confederate Post-Office Department and a study, by R. G. Cleland, of Jefferson Davis and the Confederate Congress. Two articles are concerned with the fur-trade of the southwest, St. Vrain's Expedition to the Gila in 1826, by T. R. Marshall, and a Glimpse of the Texas Fur-Trade in 1832, a letter of Francis Smith written from Tenoxtitlan, March 11, 1832, contributed, with an introduction, by Professor Eugene C. Barker. Other articles are: Difficulties of Maintaining the Department of San Blas, 1775-1777, by C. E. Chapman; and a sketch of Maj.-Gen. John A. Wharton (1828-1865), by W. W. Groce.

Mr. William E. Dunn, instructor in Spanish American history at the University of Texas, has been, since August, 1915, directing a corps of copyists in the archives of Seville. Down to December 30, he had obtained 4500 pages of transcripts, dealing chiefly with the history of Texas, New Mexico, and California in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The work is carried on by the co-operation of the University of Texas, the Library of Congress, and University of California, each of which retains copies of the transcripts.

In the *Texas History Teachers' Bulletin* of November 15 (vol. IV., no. 1) appears the second contribution by Professor Eugene C. Barker of Source Readings in Texas History. The selections are from *A Visit to Texas* (second ed., 1836) and relate to life in the early colonies, dangers of travel, and conditions around Galveston Bay.

In the *Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota* for January A. T. Vollweiler gives glimpses of Life in Congress, 1850-1861, "as seen through episodes in the career of Benjamin Franklin Wade". A paper by O. G. Libby, One Hundred Years of Peace, is essentially an argument against the adoption of a policy of preparation for war.

The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company has issued, in five volumes (Chicago, 1915), a work on South Dakota consisting of a *History of*

Dakota Territory, by George W. Kingsbury, in two volumes; *South Dakota: its History and its People*, edited by George M. Smith, one volume; and two volumes of bibliographical sketches.

The Nebraska Historical Society is planning for the celebration of Nebraska's semi-centennial on March 1, 1917. It is also surveying and marking the California trail through the entire length of the state.

Volume XIII. of the *Collections* of the Kansas State Historical Society (Topeka, 1915, pp. x, 602) is edited by the new secretary, Mr. W. E. Connelley. The chief articles, besides biographical sketches and the reminiscences of missionaries and other pioneers, are one by E. A. Austin on the supreme court of the state of Kansas, some notes on the territorial history of Kansas by Mr. Frank B. Sanborn, an account of the Quantrill Raid by A. R. Greene, and papers on the Bohemians and Germans in central Kansas. The largest mass of documentary material is the record of the "Executive Committee of Kansas Territory", 1855-1857. An interesting and appreciative notice of the late George W. Martin, secretary of the society since 1899, begins the volume.

The Department of Archaeology of Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, has undertaken the excavation of the pueblo at Pecos, New Mexico, under the immediate direction of A. B. Kidder of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. The first season's work had to be largely devoted to the old Spanish church, but excavation in the rooms of the pueblo proper was begun.

Mr. C. F. Heartman issues as number 10 in his historical series a *Journal of a Tour on the North-West Coast of America in the year 1829*, by Jonathan S. Green. Number 9 was a *Check-List of Printers in the United States*, from Stephen Daye to 1783, with a list of places in which printing was done.

In the January number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* M. Orion Monroe presents a Critical Discussion of the Site of Camp Washington, the spot upon which Governor Isaac I. Stevens and his exploring and surveying parties camped in October, 1853; C. L. Andrews gives an account of Marine Disasters of the Alaska Route (1792-1915); and J. E. Ayer sketches the career of George Bush, the negro who is said to have led the first colony of settlers to the shores of Puget Sound. The *Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House, 1833*, edited by Clarence B. Bagley, is continued.

Under the title *Governors of Washington Territory and State* (Seattle, University of Washington, 1915, pp. 114), Professor Edmond S. Meany has published a series of 21 biographical sketches, with portraits. Professor Meany has also assembled in separate form, as a pamphlet of 43 pages, the installments, published by him in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, of *A New Vancouver Journal on the*

Discovery of Puget Sound, by a member of the crew of the *Chatham*, perhaps Edward Bell, the clerk.

In the September number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* Harrison C. Dale presents an investigation of the Organization of the Oregon Emigrating Companies, Leslie M. Scott writes a history of the Yaquina Railroad, and Lewis A. McArthur an account of the Pacific Coast Survey of 1849-1850. There is also printed a body of correspondence of the Rev. Ezra Fisher, pioneer Baptist missionary in Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Oregon, seven letters, February, 1846, to April, 1847. This correspondence is continued in the December number, in which are also printed articles by Professor Robert C. Clark on the Last Step in the Formation of a Provisional Government for Oregon in 1845, by C. A. Barrett on Early Farming in Umatilla County, and by the late James O'Meara on Captain Joseph R. Walker, founder of Independence, Mo., lieutenant of Bonneville, and discoverer of Walker's Pass through the Sierra Nevada; also (but without date) a congressional speech of Eli Thayer on the admission of Oregon as a state.

The *Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada*, série III., vol. IX., section I. (June, 1915), includes two articles of historical interest: *Le Problème des Races au Canada*, by Archbishop Bruchési, and *La Mort de Champlain*, by Benjamin Sulte. The English section (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, series III., vol. IX., section II.) contains two historical papers, the one by James White on the treaty of 1825: Correspondence respecting the Boundary between Russian America (Alaska) and British North America, accompanied by a number of letters from Sir Charles Bagot, British ambassador at St. Petersburg, to George Canning, October, 1823, to August, 1824; the other by Professor Wilbur H. Siebert on the Loyalists and the Six Nation Indians in the Niagara Peninsula.

Ten volumes have recently been added to the series *Chronicles of Canada* (Glasgow, Brook and Company). These are: *The Founder of New France*, by C. W. Colby; *The Great Fortress*, and *The War with the United States*, by Colonel William Wood; *The War Chief of the Ottawas*, by T. G. Marquis; *Tecumseh*, by Ethel T. Raymond; *The Red River Colony*, by Louis A. Wood; *Pioneers of the Pacific Coast*, by Agnes C. Laut; *The Family Compact*, by W. Stewart Wallace; *The Tribune of Nova Scotia*, by W. L. Grant; *The Day of Sir John Macdonald*, by Sir Joseph Pope.

Pioneer Life among the Loyalists, by W. S. Harrington, president of the Ontario Historical Society, deals with the trials of the United Empire Loyalists who settled along the north shore of Lake Ontario (Toronto, Macmillan).

Adventures in Mexico: from Vera Cruz to Chihuahua in the Days of the Mexican War, by G. F. A. Ruxton, edited by Horace Kephart,

has some interest for its side-lights on the war (Outing Publishing Company).

An Introduction to the Study of the Maya Hieroglyphs (Bulletin 57 of the Bureau of American Ethnology), by Sylvanus G. Morley, is designed as a primary text-book for the study of Maya hieroglyphs, the existing literature of the study being widely scattered, and for the most part written for specialists. The Maya, who inhabited southern Mexico and northern Central America, developed between the second and sixth centuries of the Christian era a civilization which surpassed in some respects that of any other of the aboriginal races of the Western Hemisphere. Something of their history has come down to us (chiefly through the Books of Chilán Balam, copied or compiled at a much later time from older manuscripts now lost), but the decipherment of the surviving hieroglyphic writings has proceeded little beyond the chronological notation. By way of introduction to his work the author presents a summary account of the history of the Maya, as well as of their manners, customs, and religion. The book contains specimen texts of hieroglyphs and other illustrative materials.

The Macmillan Company has in press, for publication this spring, an historical volume called *Filibusters and Financiers*, by Professor William O. Scroggs of Louisiana State University—a careful study of the filibustering movement, grouped about the life and personality of William Walker.

A company, formed for the purpose, entitled the Historical Publishing Company, of Washington, D. C., is publishing a *History of the Panama Canal: its Construction and Builders*, by Mr. Ira E. Bennett of the *Washington Post*, assisted by various contributors who have had special relations to the events, such as Colonel Roosevelt, Mr. Shonts, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Stevens, and the like. The volume is elaborately illustrated and contains, in an appendix, treaties between the United States and foreign powers relating to interoceanic communications, acts of Congress relating to the Panama Canal, and important executive orders.

Students interested in Cuban history will warmly welcome the new bimonthly journal, the *Revista de Historia Cubana y Americana*, issued by Señor Luis M. Pérez, librarian of the Cuban House of Representatives, and Señor Federico Córdova as editors (the address is Apartado 764, Habana, the price of annual subscription \$3). The first number, for January-February, is mainly composed of documentary materials relating to the modern revolutionary period, but begins with a reprint of the chapter on Cuba and Sir Henry Morgan's attack in 1668 from the Spanish translation of Exquemelin. This is followed by a proclamation of the Cuban junta of New York, 1849, a letter of J. A. Echeverría, from Madrid to the Junta de Información, 1867, both from the Library of Congress in Washington, a journal, 1883-1884, of the

Cuban revolutionary club of Kingston, Jamaica, a circular of José Martí, 1892, to the presidents of the various such clubs, and a letter of José Maceo, June 7, 1895. Several of these documents are from the archives of the Pérez family; all are edited with intelligence and scholarship. A bibliographical list of recent publications in Cuban and other Spanish-American history, with comments, concludes the number (pp. 48).

The Cuban *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* for January-February contains some documentary material from the correspondence of the *intendentes generales de hacienda* with the Spanish government, 1752-1753, but mainly consists of material respecting the conspiracy "of la Cadena", Puerto Principe, 1823.

The Macmillan Company expects before long to issue *The Early History of Cuba* by Miss Irene A. Wright, the fruit of much research in Cuba and in the Archives of the Indies.

After the death of Bolívar his secretary, Daniel O'Leary, who had served under him in various capacities since 1818, gathered together a large and valuable documentary collection, which was edited by his son, and published, from 1879 to 1888, under the direction of the Venezuelan government. Two of the 31 volumes of this collection consisted of O'Leary's own narrative, a narrative of especial value because of the human picture of Bolívar which the author was able to give. This narrative is now republished under the direction of Don Rufino Blanco-Fombona as *Bolívar y la Emancipación de Sur-América: Memorias del General O'Leary* (Madrid, Sociedad Española de Librería). A third volume, a documentary appendix to this narrative, was suppressed by the government. This volume, but lately found, has been published by the Venezuelan government with a note explaining the circumstances of its publication.

The *Lettres de Bolívar, 1799-1822* (Paris, Michaud, 1914, pp. 459) have been edited by Blanco-Fombona and E. Rodo.

Dr. Vicente Lecuna, a zealous student of Bolívar, has printed, as a complimentary offering to the recent Pan-American Scientific Congress, a small pamphlet entitled *Simón Bolívar, un Pensamiento sobre el Congreso de Panamá*, containing in Spanish and English translation some interesting unpublished views of Bolívar in 1826. Of this he has presented certain copies to the American Historical Association for distribution to members interested in Latin-American history.

V. F. López has prepared a *Manual de la Historia Argentina* (Buenos Aires, A. V. López, 1915, pp. 954).

A former official of the Chilean foreign office, A. Alvarez, has written *La Grande Guerre Européenne et la Neutralité du Chili* (Paris, Pedone, 1915).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. M. Chittenden, *Manifest Destiny in America* (Atlantic Monthly, January); E. A. B., *A Propos de la Neutralité Américaine* (Revue de Paris, November 1); Major Thomas Rowland, C. S. A., *Letters of a Virginia Cadet at West Point, 1859-1861*, cont. (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); E. W. Knight, *The Evolution of Public Education in Virginia* (Sewanee Review, January); E. W. Knight, *Reconstruction and Education in Virginia* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); J. G. Randall, *The Virginia Debt Controversy* (Political Science Quarterly, December); W. K. Boyd, *The North Carolina Fund for Internal Improvements* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); J. A. Robertson, *The Evolution of Representation in the Philippine Islands* (Journal of Race Development, October); M. Boucher de Labruère, *Sir Louis-Hippolyte La Fontaine, son Rôle et son Action au Milieu de la Tourmente de 1837-1838*, I., II. (Revue Canadienne, January, February); George Bryce, *The Real Strathcona*, VIII., IX. (Canadian Magazine, January, February, March); D. R. Fox, *Foundations of West India Policy* (Political Science Quarterly, December); J. M. Knight, *The Wrecking System of the Bahamas* (*ibid.*); J. M. Cabarrocas, *Cuba y los Estados Unidos, las Notas Norteamericanas* (Cuba Contemporánea, June).

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

To the list of doctoral dissertations in progress, printed in our January number, the following may now be added.

- Ellen A. Baldwin, A.B. Cornell 1913. *Billaud-Varenne in the French Revolution*. Cornell.
- G. K. Osterhus, S.B. Columbia 1914, A.M. 1915. *The Zollverein: a Study of the Prussian State and the Economic Revolution*. Minnesota.
- H. E. Brown, S.B. New York 1910, A.M. 1912. *The Development of the Office of Public Prosecutor in the Colony and State of New York*. New York.
- E. Nielsen, A.B. New York 1910, A.M. 1911. *The Development of the Government of Westchester County from 1683 to the Present*. New York.
- J. P. O'Mahoney, A.B. College of the City of New York 1908; A.M. New York 1912. *History of the Rise of the Assembly to Predominant Political Power in the Province of New York*. New York.

It is also necessary to make the following somewhat numerous additions to the List of Doctoral Dissertations printed since December, 1914, which was published in the last number of the *American Historical Review*, pages 439-440, since these items are found in the general *List of American Doctoral Dissertations printed in 1914*, just issued by the Library of Congress, though not found in the lists supplied by the university professors to whom our application was made in the autumn. Several of the books named have been reviewed in this journal, but their status as dissertations was not known to the editor. Also, in several cases mentioned in our previous list, the title as there printed differs considerably from that which is given in the Library of Congress list and reproduced below; this is probably due to the habit of using in satisfaction of the requirements for the degree a portion of a monograph of which the whole is subsequently published.

- C. R. Aurner, *History of Township Government in Iowa* (Iowa City, Iowa, 1914).
- R. P. Brooks, *The Agrarian Revolution in Georgia, 1865-1912* (Madison, 1914, Bulletin of University of Wisconsin, no. 639, history series, vol. III, no. 3).
- Hazel Louise Brown, *Extemporaneous Speech in Antiquity* (Menasha, Wisconsin, George Banta, 1914).

- Howard G. Brownson, *History of the Illinois Central Railroad to 1870* (Champaign, Ill., 1915, University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. IV., no. 304).
- Shao-Kwan Chen, *The System of Taxation in China in the Tsing Dynasty, 1644-1911* (New York, 1914, Columbia Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. LIX., no. 2, whole no. 143).
- P. H. Clements, *An Outline of the Politics and Diplomacy of China and the Powers, 1894-1902* (New York, 1914).
- M. P. Cushing, *Baron d'Holbach: a Study of Eighteenth Century Radicalism in France* (New York, 1914).
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